Smārta Religious Tradition

V. S. Pathak

SPS
294.59509541 P 7
49919

Digitized by eGangotri

SOME KUSUMĀÑJALI TITLES OF INTEREST

(a) JUST RELEASED

1. *Smārta Religious Tradition*
   Dr. V.S. Pathak
2. *Inscriptions of the Maukhari-Pushyabhūti-Chālukya Period* (in Hindi)
   Dr. S.R. Goyal
3. *Princes and Polity in Ancient India*
   Dr. M.C. Joshi
4. *Harsha Śīlāditya* (in Hindi)
   Dr. S.R. Goyal

(b) RECENTLY PUBLISHED

1–2. *A Religious History of Ancient India* (in two volumes)
   Dr. S.R. Goyal
3. *Harsha and Buddhism*
   Dr. S.R. Goyal
4. *Hinduism in Śrī Laṅkā* (in Hindi)
   Dr. S.N. Kapoor
5. *Inscriptions of the Gupta Age* (in Hindi)
   Dr. S.R. Goyal
6. *Kauṭilya and Megasthenes*
   Dr. S.R. Goyal

(c) FORTHCOMING TITLES

1. *Economic Status of Women in Ancient India*
   Dr. Savita Vishnoi
2. *Corpus of Nepalese Inscriptions*
   Dr. T.P. Verma
3. *The Coinage of Ancient India*
   Dr. S.R. Goyal

4–6. *History of Ancient India* (in Hindi; in three vols.)
   Dr. S.R. Goyal
7. *Samudragupta Parākramāṅka* (in Hindi)
   Dr. S.R. Goyal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Smarta Religious Tradition

(BEING A STUDY OF THE EPIGRAPHIC DATA ON THE SMĀRTA RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF NORTHERN INDIA c. 600 A.D. TO c. 1200 A.D.)

Cat No 1108
18/11

V. S. PATHAK

Kusumanjali Prakashan, Meerut

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

FOREWORD

One would hardly believe in the efforts, almost Herculean, that we, I and my friend Dr. J. Rai, had to make in persuading the author to give his consent for the publication of the present work, the significance of which lies primarily in a new systematic interpretation of early medieval culture of India. Scholars have explained the various features of the early medieval culture on the basis of such economic factors as introduction of feudalism, rise and growth of urbanization and rural regression. One would hardly find any work where medieval culture has been defined in terms of contemporary values manifested in social structure and processes, polity and political set up and art and architecture. It would not be an exaggeration to say that it is the only work of its kind where one finds a unity of vision and exposition of various facets of life in the context of well-defined value systems. This should explain our keenness to get it in print.

The early medieval age was a period of great disintegration of tradition and grand rebirth of articulated diversities. The era of *Chakravartins* fades away into the limbo of oblivion yielding place to regional entities which form a mosaic of myriad colours and variegated patterns. The *Varṇāśrama* organization of olden times crumbles and society remodels itself into the regional castes and sub-castes. The Sanskrit language remains as the *Prima lingua* of India only for the elite; the Prakrits succeed by various types of Apabhraṁśa and the modern Indo-Aryan languages gradually come to the fore. Art of noble simplicity and quietude is incarnated in a large number of postures and gets orchestrated with a pleasing variety of sentiments. The golden thread of unity in this bewildering panorama of diversity is provided by the values enshrined in the Smārta tradition which had obtained a definite and independent form much before the Gupta period.

The Smārta literature composed by the sages like Manu, Bṛhaspati, Parāśara, Āṅgirasa, Yājñavalkya, Bhṛgu, Kātyāyana, Gautama and Vyāsa was regarded as authority. The Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* were devoutly recited and heard. The ideals and values enshrined in these works exerted a great influence on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

minds of people in almost every corner of northern India, cutting across geographical, linguistic and regional barriers. Indeed, the ethos of the vast majority in the sub-continent was formulated in this age. Its most important feature, of course, was the perspective of Vedic activism and āgamic devotionalism which were mainly responsible for the formation of the early medieval culture. A brilliant exposition of this momentous tradition characterises this book.

The author has restricted his study to the inscriptions of northern India for obvious reasons. The literary sources have been utilised by several scholars, if not fully, at least partly. But epigraphs of this age have received scant attention for this purpose. In fact, Prof. Pathak deserves our compliments for bringing to light the mine of information contained in the epigraphic records of this age.

I am sure that the refreshingly novel approach of the author and the new material presented in this book would attract the attention of scholars.

Vaikunth Chaturdasi
14–11–1986

S. N. CHATURVEDI
Professor and Head
Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology
Pūrvāyatana
University of Gorakhpur, Gorakhpur

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CONTENTS

Publishers' Preface *v*
Foreword *vii*
Abbreviations *xvii*

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION: MAJOR CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND SMĀRTA MOVEMENT **1–21**

The Development and Significance of Kali Age Theory 3
The Mlechchhas 4
(a) Hūṇas 4
(b) Ābhīras 5
(c) Magas 7
Traditions and Culture-Areas 9
(i) The Vedic Culture-Area 9
(ii) The Āgamic Culture-Area 10
(iii) The Ascetic Tradition 11
(iv) Some Minor Cultural Traditions of Tribal People 11
The Āgamic Tradition Gradually Gains Prominence 12
Expansion of the Āgamic Culture-Area 12
The Vedic World View 13
The Āgamic World View 13
The Trimuph of the Āgamic Tradition 14
Socio-Cultural Integration of Āgamic Tradition 15
(a) Āgama and Society 15
(b) Āgama and Art 16
(c) Āgama and State 16
(d) Joyous and Artistic Activities 18
(e) Pessimism 19
(f) Life Sublime and "Evil World" 19
(g) Ambivalent Attitude of Split Personality 20

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Chapter 2

SMĀRTA MOVEMENT : SYSTEMATISATION AND STANDARDISATION 22–36

1. *Systematisation and Re-Definition of Varṇāśrama System* 22
   (a) Inscriptional Evidence 22
      (i) Brahmakshatra 23
      (ii) Other Examples 24
   (b) The Improved Status of Brāhmaṇas 25
2. *Integration of the Āgamic Values in the Margin Around the Core of the Vedic Culture* 27
   (a) 'Ishṭapūrtta' in Inscriptions 27
   (b) Meaning of Ishṭa and Pūrtta 28
   (c) Ishṭa and Pūrtta Differentiated 29
   (d) Ishṭa 30
      (i) Pañcha-Mahāyajñas 30
      (ii) Pañcha-Mahāyajñas amongst the Jains 32
      (iii) Prevalence of the Pañcha-Mahāyajñas 32
3. *Development of Rituals : Assimilation of the Elements of Non-Vedic Rituals after Decking Them out in the Vedic Apparel* 33
   (a) Snāna 33
   (b) Sandhyās 34
   (c) Homa 35
   (d) Tarpaṇa 35

Chapter 3

PŪRTTA AND PAÑCHADEVOPĀSANĀ 37–66

PŪRTTA

A. *Introduction* 37
   (a) Nature and Contents of Pūrtta 37
   (b) The Popularity of the Pūrtta Rituals 38
B. *Excavation of Water-Reservoirs (Jalāśayotsarga)* 40
   (a) The Procedure of Dedication 41
      (i) Vedic Procedure 41
      (ii) Āgamic Procedure 42
      (iii) Purāṇic Procedure 42
   (b) Procedure as known from Archaeology 42
      (i) Vedic Procedure in Archaeology 42

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(ii) Āgamic Procedure 42
(iii) Purāṇic Procedure 43
(iv) Some Purāṇic Features 43

C. *Tree-Planting* 43
(a) Planting of Gardens in Towns 44
(b) Association of Trees with Gods 45
(i) Nimba Tree and Sūrya 45
(ii) Association of Bilva and Kovidāra with Śiva 45
(iii) Śiva as a Tree 45
(c) Yakshiṇī and Śālabhañjikā in Trees 46
(d) Trees in Temple Gardens and Tanks 46

D. *Maṭhas* 47
(a) Maṭhas in Literature 47
(b) Maṭhas in Archaeology 49

E. *Rest-Houses* 49
(a) Āvasatha 49
(b) Maṇḍapa 50

F. *Alms-House* 50

G. *The Settlement of Brāhmaṇas* (*Dvija-Sthāpana*) 51

H. *Temple Construction and Pūrtta* 52
Āgama and Pūrtta 52

I. *Dāna* 53
(a) Dāna 53
(i) Dāna in Early Inscriptions 53
(ii) Dāna in Early Medieval Inscriptions 54
(b) Mahādāna 54
(c) Bhūmidāna 56
(d) Quotation of Verses in Epigraphs Regarding Merits of Dāna 57
(e) Occasions for Giving Grants 57

PAÑCHADEVOPĀSANĀ

A. *The Trinity* (*Trideva*) 58
(a) Association of Śiva and Vishṇu 58
(b) Vishṇu and Brahmā 59
(c) Śiva and Brahmā 59

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(d) Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva 60
(e) Sūrya, Brahmā and Vishṇu 60

B. *The Quadrumvirate* 61

C. *Pañchadeva* 62

D. *The Guardians of Quarters (Lokapāla)* 63

(A) Indra 64
(B) Kubera 64
(C) Varuṇa 65

Conclusion 66

Chapter 4

TĪRTHAS, THE CENTRES OF CULTURAL RADIATION 67–111

1. *Kāśī* 68

(a) Importance of Kāśī as Tīrtha 68
(b) Sacred to Śiva and Vishṇu 69
(c) Names 70
(d) Avimukta and Vārāṇasī 70
(i) Avimukta and Vārāṇasī in Literature 71
(ii) Avimukta and Trikaṇṭaka 71
(iii) Avimukta as a Divine Liṅga 71
(iv) Viśveśvara 72
(v) Avimukta and Viśveśvara 73
(e) Other Śaiva Shrines 73
(i) Kṛttivāsa 73
(ii-iv) Aghoreśvara Pañchoṁkāra and Lauḍeśvara 74
(v) Vedeśvara 75
(f) Vaishṇava Shrines 75
(i) Ādikeśava 75
(ii) Aindra-Mādhava 75
(iii) Śārṅgadhara Temple 76
(g) Saura Shrine 76
(h) Śākta Shrine 76
(i) Koṭitīrtha 76

2. *Prayāga* 76

(A) Prayāga as Prajāpati-Kshetra 77
(B) Religious Suicide at Prayāga 77
(a) Suicide in the fire of Cow-dung cakes 78

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(b) Suicide at Akshayavaṭa 79
(c) Suicide at Drowning at the Confluence 79
(d) Suicide by a Brāhmaṇa 79
(C) Shrines at Prayāga 79
(D) Prayāga in Sculptures 80

3. *Gayā* 80
(a) Gayā from Ninth Century A.D. 80
(b) Gayā as a Sacred Place 81
(c) Gaya, Gayā and Gayāla Brāhmaṇas 81
(d) Gayāsura Legend 83
(e) The Three Forms of Vishṇu and Five Forms of Brahmā 84
(i) Gayā and Brahmā 85
(ii) Gayā and Vaishṇavism 85
(f) Vaishṇava Shrines 86
(i) Ādi Gadādhara and Gadādhara Temples 86
(ii) Janārdana 86
(g) Śaiva Shrines 87
(i) Champeśa 87
(ii) Vaṭeśvara 87
(h) Shrines of Brahmā 87
(i) Shrines of Sūrya 87
(j) Other Sub-Tīrthas 88
(i) Phalgu Tīrtha 88
(ii) Uttaramānasa 88

4. *Prabhāsa-Somanātha* 88
Prabhāsa in Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries 88
Somanātha 88
Somanātha and Moon 90
Soma and Śaivism in Prabhāsa: The Literacy Tradition 90
Inscriptional Tradition 90
(i) Somasiddhānta and Prabhāsa 91
(ii) Centre of Lākulīśa Doctrine 92
(iii) Śaivsiddhānta and Prabhāsa 92

5. *Kedāra* 92

6. *Amareśvara and Oṁkāreśvara* 93
(A) Amareśvara 93

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(B) Oṁkāreśvara 94
(C) Oṁkāreśvara and Amreśvara 94
7. *Mahākāla* 95
8. *Bhīmeśvara* 96
9. *Mallinātha, Tryambaka and Rāmeśvara* 96
10. *Other Jyotirliṅgas* 96
11. *Ekāmra-Bhuvaneśvara* 97
(A) Ekāmra 98
(B) Paraśurāmeśvara and Lākulīśa-Pāśupata School 99
12. *Tīrthas Mentioned in Inscriptions* 100
13. *Holy Rivers of Northern India* 102
(A) Gaṅgā 103
(a) Smārta Rites and the Gaṅgā 103
(i) Gaṅgā and Maṅgalaghaṭa 103
(ii) Gaṅgā—A Śālabhañjikā 104
(iii) Gaṅgā on the Door-Jamb 105
(iv) Independent Worship of Gaṅgā 105
(B) Sarasvatī 106
(a) As a River Goddess in Inscriptions 106
(b) In Dharma Śāstra Literature 107
(c) In Sculptures 107
(d) Sarasvatī and Pūrṇaghaṭa 107
(C) Narmmadā 108
(i) Narmmadā in Inscriptions 108
(ii) Narmmadā in Sculptures 108
(D) Lauhitya-Brahmaputra 110
(E) The River-Goddesses of the Punjab 111

Chapter 5

VOWS AND FESTIVALS **112–125**
1. *Vratas (Vows or Auspicious Occasions)* 112
(A) The Pāla-Pratihāra Period 113
(a) Piśāchī-Chaturdaśī 113
(b) Rahasya-Vrata 114
(B) From A.D. 950 to A.D. 1200 114
(C) Vratas in Inscriptions 115

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

2. *Utsavas (Celebration of Festivals)* 117
(A) Chaitra-Parva 118
(i) Damanaka 118
(ii) Other Features of Chaitra Festival 119
(B) Pavitra-Parva 120
(C) Ratha-Yātrā 121
(D) Paṭṭabandha 121
(E) Janmāshṭamī 122
(F) Śiva-Rātrī 122
(G) Dīpotsava 122
(H) Āgamic Festivals Condemned by Smārtas 122
(I) Vedic Festival Substituted by Āgamics 122
(J) Secular Festivals 124
3. *Conclusion* 124
CONCLUSION **126–27**
Bibliography 128
Name-Index 141

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
AC	*Antiquities of Chamba State*, J. Vogel, Delhi.
Ait. Up.	*Aitareya Upanishad.*
Arch. of Guj.	*Archaeology of Gujarat*, by H. D. Sankalia, Bombay, 1941.
ASI, AR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*
ASI, WC	*Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.*
ASWI	*Archaeological Survey of Western India.*
Bh.p.	*Bhavishya-Purāṇa.*
BI	*Bhavanagar Inscriptions.*
BV	*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay.
CASR	*Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports.*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarm.*
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography*, by J. N. Banerjea.
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, by H. C. Ray.
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
GL	*Gauḍalekhamālā*, Rajshahi, 1319 (B.S.).
HD	*History of Dharmaśāstra*, by P. V. Kane.
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IB	*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar, Rajshahi, 1929.
IC	*Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
ISG	*Īśāna-śiva-guru-deva-paddhati*, (pt. I–IV), ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JASB	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

JOHRS	*Journal of Orissa Historical Research Society.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
JRASB, L	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Calcutta.
JUPHS	*Journal of U.P. Historical Research Society.*
Kāt. Śr. Sū.	*Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
KS	*Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, Rangpur, 1938.
Manu.	*Manusmṛti.*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata.*
OHRJ	*Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Bhubneswar.
PB	*The Pālas of Bengal, MASB*, V. 3, Calcutta, 1915.
PRAS, WC	*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.*
Rāmā.	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
RE	*Rock Edict.*
RV	*Ṛgveda.*
Śat. Br.	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East.*
Sel. Ins.	*Select Inscriptions*, ed. by D. C. Sircar, Vol. I, First ed. 1942.
Tai. Āra.	*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.*
Tai. Saṁ	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā.*
TK	*Tīrthakalpataru* of Lakshmīdhara.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: MAJOR CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND SMĀRTA MOVEMENT

The destruction of the Gupta empire by the Hūṇas was followed by an acute and painful awareness amongst people in general that the socio-political situation of the time was holding a threat to traditional organizations, values and attitudes which were till then regarded as absolute, unchanging and cultural compulsives. Inscriptions of the period bear eloquent testimony to this widely current and deeply rooted consciousness. Thus, the Mandsor Inscription of Yaśodharmman M.S. 589=532 A.D. informs us of the age which was the ravisher of good behaviour "when kings adopted reprehensible course of conduct" and "consequently when earth was afflicted by kings . . . who manifested pride, who were cruel through want of trading, who from *Moha* (delusion) transgressed the path of good conduct and who were destitute of virtuous delights".[1] Similarly other inscriptions record with a note of dissatisfaction and distress that "virtuous conduct has to bow down before this present evil age of *Kali*", that "the world is sunk in the darkness of *Kali*"[2] and that "the earth like a broken boat, being shaken in the storms of *Kali*, was sinking below the invisible ocean of nether region".[3] Beside these general statements, inscriptions record the extirpation of the traditional organizations of *varṇa* (class-caste) and *āśrama*, decrease in the popularity of Vedic rituals and lastly the transgression of the right course of conduct. The theory that Traditional Righteousness (Dharma) was previously quadruped but in the age of evil *Kali* was reduced to the straits of

[1] निन्द्याचारेषु योऽस्मिन्विनयमुषियुगे कल्पनामात्रवृत्या
राजस्वन्येषु . . . . . ।
आविर्भूतावलेपैरविनयपटुभिर्ल्लंघिताचारमार्गैः
मोहादैदं युगीनैरपणुभरतिभिः पीड्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ॥
[2] *EI*, XIV, p. 177, verse 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

a lame man with one leg, gradually developed.[4]

Leaders of traditional politico-social order tried to meet this challenge. Epigraphs bestow high praises on kings who tried to re-establish the traditional duties of different castes and stages of life. Thus, the king Saṁkshobha (529 A.D.) is described as "engaged in establishing the caste and āśrama organizations".[5] Avantivarmman, the Maukhari king, is styled in royal records as "Vishṇu, the wielder of discus, in reviving the ancient institutions of varṇa and āśrama".[6] Similarly Bhāskaravarmman, the king of Assam in the seventh century A.D., was as if the light of religion for demarcating the various positions and stations in life in accordance with Varṇa and Āśrama which were then destroyed.[7] Dharmapāla, the Pāla king, had restored the traditional scheme of life by re-establishing persons of different varṇas in their respective duties.[8] Vigrahapāla "sheltered Varṇa and Āśrama organization". Although these praises of kings in royal charters may not be wholly true yet they certainly indicate the response of the society to the threat which challenged the ancient order. But it could not be fully met. The traditional order could no longer be maintained in its pristine purity. The political instability and failure to maintain the ancient social order generated a sense of frustration in general.

From the sixth century A.D. inscriptions generally contain verses pointing out the futility of worldly life, momentary character of secular pleasures and the grandeur of sublime life in the next world. One of the earliest references to such ideas in Northern India is to be found in the Nagar Inscription of Dhanika V.S. 741=684 A.D. which records that "Human life is a dew-drop on the blade of grass (which may fall at any moment), the material prosperity is as momentary as the flash of lightning".[9] In the language of an old

---

[4]Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena, verse 24, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 48. See also *EI*, I, p. 219.

[5]D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 375 (Calcutta, 1st ed.).

[6]Nālandā Seal of Avantivarmman, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III.

[7]Vidyavinoda, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* (Bengal, Rangpur, 1931, pp. 15–16).

[8]*EI*, XVIII, p. 305.

[9]दर्भाग्रशतवारिविन्दुचपलाप्राणाः प्रजानाममी
बाला लोलविदूलपत्रतरलं पुंसामिदं यौवनम् ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

man tired of his life in the world, these inscriptions would state in a very melancholy tone, "Life of man is short; half of it is spent in sleep; its half is squandered away in childish frolics and infirmities of old age, even the remaining small span of life is afflicted with disease and natural calamities. Where is pleasure in the life which is as fickle as a wave?"[10] The hopeless frustration found its vent in the *Kali* age theory which means that modern age is necessarily a period of such unalloyed evil tendencies as cannot be eradicated till the advent of the *Kṛta* or Righteous Age. This *Kali* Age conception developed immediately after the Gupta Age.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF KALI AGE THEORY

Although the words—Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali occur in Vedic literature, there they simply indicated different numbers.[11] The concept of the Cycle of Four Ages is not to be found in Vedic literature. Even in the *Sūtras* and the *Manu-Smṛti*[12], Kaliyuga is not a definite period of calculated duration but the Age of Sin. Manu remarks that king, by his pious and evil activities, ushers in

---

नो तिष्ठत्यचिरप्रभाविलसिता धाराविभूतिर्यत-
स्तद्धीरैः शरदिन्दु पुण्यविशदे कार्यो यशस्यादरः ॥
—*Bhārata Kaumudī* (Dr. R. K. Mukharji Commemoration Volume, Lucknow), p. 271.

[10]रम्भागर्भोपमं संसारमाकलय्य तडिच्चंचलां लक्ष्मीं ज्ञात्वा
जलबुद्बुदोपमं जीवितमिदं श्रुत्वा यौवनं च तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुवद् · · ·
आयुर्वर्षशतंनृणां परिमितं रात्र्या तदर्द्धं हृतं
तस्यार्धस्य कदाचिदर्धमधिकं वार्धक्य-बाल्ये गतम् ।
शेषं व्याधिजराधियोगभरणैः सेवादिभिर्ल्लीयते
जीवे वारितरङ्ग चञ्चलतरे सौख्यं कुतः प्राणिनाम् ॥ —*EI*, XX, p. 127.

[11]They were the different marks on the dice (*Tait. Saṁ.*, 1, 8, 16; *Śat. Br.*, V, 4, 4, 6). The game was played with five dice, four of which were called kṛita and the fifth kali. If all dice fall uniformly, the player wins the game—Kali over-riding Kṛta. According to Eggeling, (*Śat. Br.*, SBE, XLI, XLI, p. 107), Kali, here, symbolized the King. *Kat. Śr. Sū.* refers to another mode of playing where Kali represented the tribesmen and and Kṛta the King. See also *Chhāndogya*, IV, 1, 4.

[12]IX, 301.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

the different ages in society, but later *Smṛtis* and inscriptions from sixth century A.D. mention these ages as definitely calculated historical divisions of time and *Kali* as the modern Age of Sin.[13]

Pictures of Kali age portrayed in gloomy colours have been given in several Purāṇas.[14] The later *Smṛtis* also describe the evil mores and conducts of Kaliyuga.[15] With the help of inscriptions, the political context of Kali descriptions of sixth century A.D. may be studied.

The Mlechchhas:—The Mandsor Inscription mentioned above, alluding to the rival king Mihirakula by name, very strongly suggests that "by other kings who followed reprehensible course of conduct" the poet meant the Hūṇa potentates and similar other outlandish chiefs. The *Bhāgavata*, after mentioning in general the kings of the Gupta dynasty, describes the barbarous chiefs bereft of spiritual glow who would rule over the banks of the Sindhu, the Chandrabhāgā Valley, Kānti and Kaśmīra.[16] The nature and activities of these barbarous kings, as described in the Purāṇas, bear striking resemblance with those of the Hunic kings described in the *Rājatarańgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Therefore, it appears that in the Purāṇas, containing chapters on the Kali age of the post-Gupta period, the Hūṇas and other outlandish kings are meant by the *mlechchhas* ruling at the advent of Kali age.

(*i*) *Hūṇas*:—Hsiung-nu, Hiung-nu or Hūṇas, a division of the Turanian stock, unspoiled by civilization and unbridled by morals

---

[13]Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane in *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 890 after making an epigraphic survey concludes that "the theory of *Yugas* and *Kalpas* had begun to take shape at least in the fourth or third century B.C." and that "in the first century of Christian era it had been fully developed". It may, however, be pointed out that Aśokan epigraphs and the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman on which he bases his view contain merely general references to *Yugas* whereas the Pallava inscriptions of Yuvarāja Vishṇugopavarmman and Siṁhavarmman mentioning Kaliyuga specifically cannot be ascribed to "third or fourth century A.D." as Kane mentions, but to sixth-seventh century A.D. See Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 445; also *Classical Age*, p. 279.

[14]*Vāyu*, 58, 99; *Matsya*, 144; *Kūrma*, I, 30; *Vishṇu*, VI, 1–2.

[15]*Kapila Smṛti*, 4; *Smṛti Sandarbha*, V, Calcutta.

[16]XII, I, 39.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

had carried their message of devastation from the Aral Sea to the Spanish shores and incidentally gave a shattering blow to the Roman Empire. In their backsurge, they threatened the frontiers of the Gupta Empire. Skandagupta, the saviour, had to pass sleepless nights on horse-back, before he could drive away these restless nomads who, as the proverb runs, had only the back of their horse as their country. But a little later, under Toramāṇa and Mihirakula[17], they again made a bid and the declining Gupta empire succumbed to the onslaughts of the barbarians who in Europe could strike terror in the heart of their foes merely by their physiognomy. "They had a shapeless lump, instead of a head, with pin-holes rather than eyes".[18] In India they perpetrated numerous atrocities. Although the Hūṇas could not establish any stable and strong government, they carved out small principalities in several regions. They were at logger-heads with many of the smaller dynasties and are mentioned as a power of some significance in the royal epigraphs of the Rāshṭrakūṭas[19], the Guhilas[20], the Chāhamānas[21], the Paramāras[22], the Chedis[23], etc.

The process of acculturation soon operated to turn "the scourge of God" into benevolent devotees of Śiva and Sūrya. They developed matrimonial relations with the indigenous dynasties of the Chedis[24] and the Guhilas.[25] In the Hindu social scheme, they

---

[17]Aurel Stein, K. P. Jayaswal and R. C. Majumdar do not regard Mihirakula and Toramāṇa as Hūṇa chiefs. See *New History of Indian People*, VI, pp. 195–98. According to them, they were Kushāṇas who led Hūṇa hordes into India. But *contra* Sten Konow (*IHC*, XII, 532) who holds that Toramāṇa was in all probability a Hūṇa chief. We are not here concerned with the ethnic stock of these chiefs. However, their Hunic association is now beyond any doubt.

[18]Jordanes, *Gothic History*, p. 247.

[19]*IA*, XVI, p. 23, l. 41.

[20]*Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, p. 68, l. 3.

[21]*IA*, XX, p. 201.

[22]*EI*, I, p. 216; *IA*, XVI, p. 150.

[23]*EI*, II, pp. 1–7.

[24–25]See above. Hemchandra narrates the story of a *svayamvara* in which Durlabha, the Solaṅkī ruler, won the hand of a princess and defeated the rival claimants amongst whom there was a king of Hūṇa descent (*Dynastic History of India*, II, pp. 945–46).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

were accepted as low, degraded Kshatriyas.

Hūṇas mainly served as a disintegrating factor. Coming as they were through the areas of Graeco-Iranian cultural complex, they became instrumental in spreading the Mihira-Helios-Sūrya worship in Northern India.[26] They may also be credited with the syncretism of Sūrya-Vishṇu-Śiva Cult which later on formed the basis of the *Smārta* pentad of gods (*Pañchadeva*)—one of the important planks of Medieval culture.[27]

(*ii*) *Ābhīras*:—Another disruptionist element, the existence of which is vouchsafed by inscriptions and other archaeological data, is the Ābhīra tribe which made its influence felt from early centuries of the Christian Era. Their origin is still a baffling problem. They are variously associated with the Yādavas, Abars[28] (a Scythian tribe) and the Dravidians.[29] But their nomadic character and predatory tendencies are beyond any doubt. With their pastoral culture they clashed with the Aryan tradition of Sacrificial-Indra cult. This conflict is mentioned in the Mandsor Inscription of Naravarmman v.s. 461=405 A.D. which by stating that *Indra-maha* was being celebrated "as then allowed by Kṛshṇa"[30] alludes to the Purāṇic story that Kṛshṇa substituted the Great Festival of Indra by Mountain Worship but eventually permitted the Indra Festival to continue as a subsidiary part of the Mountain Worship at the

---

[26]Evidence comes from a nicolo seal noticed by Cunningham, Ghirsman and Banerjea (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 124–25). It is an oval seal containing a figure of four-armed deity.

[27]See author's article "The Cult of Five Deities" in *Poona Orientalist*, XXIII, pp. 50–55.

[28]W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N.W.F. and Oudh*, I, p. 51.

[29]Kanakasabhai, *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 57.

[30]*EI*, XXI, p. 320.

प्रावृक्का (ट्का)ले शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् ।
मघे (हे) प्रवृत्ते शक्रस्य कृष्णस्यानुमते तदा ॥ ३

Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 377) reads मेघे प्रवृत्ते but Sastri's reading (*EI*, XII, p. 320) suits the context better. *Indra-maha* is mentioned in the *Śilapaddikāram*. Sankalia (*Archaeology of Gujrat*, p. 242) remarks that the inscription places the festival in rainy season while according to Hemachandra it was celebrated in Aśvina. But see l. 5 which expressly mentions the celebration on the fifth day of the month of Aśvina.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

request of Indra. Arguments advanced by Kṛshṇa for the cessation of the Indra festival and the celebration of Mountain Worship in its place brings into high relief characteristic differences between the traditional Vedic Culture and the External Proletariat "Culture of the Ābhīras". "The sacrifices with the accompaniment of the Mantras and agricultural festivities are performed respectively by the Brāhmaṇas and the cultivators but we (Ābhīras), the dwellers of the mountains and forests, celebrate the worship of mountains and cows."[31]

(*iii*) *Magas*:—Still greater influence was exercised by the Magas or the Iranians who migrated to India in very early times and were accepted here as the Śaka-dvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. They find mention in the *Brahmajāla sutta*[32], *Mahābhārata*[33] and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[34] In a story recorded in the Purāṇas, Sāmba is said to have brought them from Śakadvīpa (Scythia) and appointed them as priests in a Sun temple built by him on the bank of the Chandrabhāgā river in the Punjab.[35] These Maga Brāhmaṇas were evidently associated with Sun-Fire worshipping Iranian Magi. There is some evidence that in the reign-periods of Shahpur II (309–79 A.D.) and Khosru, the Fair Glory, there had been brisk cultural contact between India and Iran.[36] Hindu philosophers are reputed to have adorned the

---

[31]*Bhāgavata*, V, II; *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and *Brahma-Vaivartta*, 21–91 mention the story:

मंत्रयज्ञपरा विप्राः सीरयज्ञाश्च कर्षकाः ।
गिरिगोयज्ञशीलाश्च वयमद्रिवनाश्रयाः ॥

Further it is emphasised that

कर्षकाणां कृषिर्वृत्तिर्पण्यं विपणिजीविनाम् ।
अस्माकं गोपरा वृत्तिः

Their nomadic trait is brought out in the same context:—

वनान्ताः गिरयः सर्वे ते चास्माकं परागतिः । ३२
द्वारबन्धावरणा न गृहक्षेत्रिणस्तथा ।
नशुष्मिणस्त्वखिले लोके यथा वै चक्रधारिणः ॥ ३३

[32]*Viśvakośa*, *Hindi*, *subvoce Maga*.

[33]*Bhīshma Parva*, XI.

[34]LX, 19.

[35]*Bhavishya Purāṇa*; *Brahma*, Ch. 139 and 141; *Sāmba Purāṇa*, VII-X; for an analysis of the Purāṇic account see Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, V, pp. 381–385.

[36]Sastri, *The Age of the Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 252–3.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Sassanian courts.[37] Contrariwise the Magian influence in India during this period is well attested by a number of clay seals discovered at Sunet, Basarh, Bhita and Rajghat bearing devices of Fire-Sun Worship.[38] Inscriptions from this period make references to these Magian Brāhmaṇas. Astrology and Sun-Fire Worship were their characteristic traits.

These and several other tribes seem to have clashed with the traditional Vedic Culture and contributed to the syncretic culture-complex of Early Medieval period. Dahiyā and Tegin are worthy of note in this context.

Several inscriptions make reference to Dahiyā Rajputs[39] whose origin has been variously given in traditions. They do not seem to have been followers of the orthodox Vedic tradition; on the other hand, they were closely akin to Bhojaka-Sevaka Brāhmaṇas of Magian-Scythian affiliation and one may be tempted to associate them with Dahae (spelt as Dai and Dae also) tribe noted by Greek authors as inhabiting the region round the Caspian Sea.[40] Similarly, the Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmmadeva mentions persons bearing "Tegin or Shahi Tegin" titles of Turkish origin.[41] Thus, history bears out the Purāṇic statement that persons "bereft of spritual glow and virtuous conduct" held away at the advent of the Kali Age. The Purāṇic *Mlechchhas* were Hūṇas and other External Proletariats at the "Time of Trouble" described in the semi-historical literature of the country as Kali Age.

Besides this impact of the barbarian chiefs, the rise of the devotional trends of the *Āgamas* with a decline in Vedic tradition is regarded as a second degrading feature of the age.[42]

---

[37]Sir P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, p. 460.

[38]*Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, XIX, ii, XX, ii, *Religious Sealings from Rajghat* (for references).

[39]The Dadhimata Ins. of Drulhaṇa, 600 A.D. (*EI*, XI). Several inscriptions at Kinsariya (*EI*, XII, p. 56) mention Dahiyā Kshatriyas. The bardic chronicle of Muta Nenasi records their migration into Marwar from a place near Nasik (*Ibid.*, p. 57).

[40]"Most of the Scythians beginning from the Caspean are called Dahae Scythae." (*Geography of Strabo*, II, p. 245). See also Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, II, p. 15.

[41]*EI*, XX, p. 43.

[42]..... कलौयुगे ।
तिरोहितस्तत्र वेदः स्वभावात्पुनरेष्यति ॥ १७

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

TRADITIONS AND CULTURE-AREAS

Human life has many mundane dimensions. It exists in space where the environment exerts an enduring influence on it. It stays in time which gives it at once a continuity by relating the past with the present, and change through innovations, contacts and needs. The third dimension is tradition which largely determines the course and conditions the forms of human life. It is through tradition that an isolated fact or event acquires meaning. Like the bashful maiden of the Ṛgvedic verse, life with its multifarious aspects reveals itself fully and truly only in the bridal chamber of tradition.

These three dimensions are inter-related, and, in fact, their interplay determines the nature of and gives primary tones to culture. For a systematic study of culture and cultural changes—the life and thought of people in a given area—, it is necessary to demarcate the focal regions of traditions on different time planes. Further, the traditions of a particular culture-area may be categorised as major and minor. The major tradition is that which is accepted generally by people in different strata of society and with different emphasis in the complete culture-area whereas the minor tradition is that which is current either in a particular section of society in the given culture-area or is prevalent only in a small region within it.

The most persistent and dominant major tradition of the culture area in Northern India was the Vedico-Āgamic, at least from the 4th century A.D. It is doubtful whether the Vedico-Āgamic tradition was the creation only, or even mainly, of the Aryans. So many cultural tributaries poured their water into the main stream that even if the Aryans had contributed the basic structure, the edifice which finally emerged does not bear the design of any one particular ethnic group.

Let us first place the tradition in its geographical context.

(i) **The Vedic Culture-Area:**—In the Vedic tradition, Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣhideśa, Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta—the four areas in a

---

कुतर्कं बोधि तोऽत्यऽतसंभाषा-ग्रंथैर्नुराजते ॥
भाषाग्रंथकुतर्काणामागमानां प्रचारणात् ॥ १८
—*Kapila Saṁhitā*, Calcutta, p. 2530.

सर्व्वे धर्म्माः कृते जाताः सर्व्वे नष्टा कलौयुगे ॥ १७ —*Pārāśara*, I.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

gradually widening circle—are regarded as the regions where the persons of orthodox tradition should reside. These areas are arranged in their order of sanctity—the last was the least sacred while the first was deemed as the most sanctified. From this viewpoint, U.P. is divided into three regions. The western U.P., the ancient Śūrasena janapada around Mathurā, formed a part of Brahmaṛshideśa whereas the central U.P. upto Allahabad falls in the Madhyadeśa; the eastern U.P. is included only in the largest area of Āryāvarta. Beyond Āryāvarta is the region where persons having the stigma of impurity are said to have resided. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (circa 4th century B.C.) states that "Magadha, Surāshṭra, Dakshiṇāpatha, Upāvṛta, Sindhu and Sauvīra are of the mixed origin. Having visited Puṇḍra, Sauvīra, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Prārjuna, one must undergo a penance." This literary tradition helps us to demarcate the culture-area of the Vedic tradition, the nuclear region of which was Brahmāvarta in the land of the Kurus.

This tradition is neatly corroborated by the archaeological evidence. Uptodate, only 13 inscribed Homa-yūpas have been discovered in India belonging to the short time from 102 A.D. to 371 A.D. Of them, 11 are found in the eastern Rajasthan, one in the region of the ancient Śūrasena at Isapur near Mathurā, and the last one at Kosam, Allahabad—all within the bounds of the focal region of the Vedic tradition, which, as we know from the *Dharmasūtras*, extended from Vinaśana in the south of Patiala to Prayāga.[42a]

(ii) **The Āgamic Culture-Area:**—The Āgamic culture-area, during this period, extended from the North-Eastern Punjab to Gujarat. If a quadrangle is drawn with its base formed by a line connecting Udaipur and Allahabad, and its upper line by joining Mathurā, it will indicate the culture-area of the Vedic tradition from the second century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. It was surrounded by an incomplete and elliptical ring formed by the regions under the Āgamic influence. Its circumference was formed by the line running westward from the Kangra Valley to include Peshawar and Taxila, moving southward with the course of the Sindhu, covering Sauvīra and Surāshṭra, then proceeding against the course of the Narmadā and abruptly stopping somewhere near Hoshangabad. Its

[42a]For reference see, V.S. Pathak, 'Vedic Rituals in Early Medieval Period', *ABORI*, XL, p. 218n.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

northern and western segments encircle the areas of Śaiva influence, whereas its southern section demarcates the regions under the dominant influence.

(iii) **The Ascetic Tradition:**—The second quarter of the 4th century A.D. marks the beginning of a new period in the history of the Āgamic tradition. From the 6th century B.C. to the 2nd century B.C., Magadha was the imperial power. The eastern Gangetic valley was thus the centre of political gravity. The Vedic tradition in this area penetrated but slowly. The schools of Buddhism and Jainism were having paramount sway over these regions. By the second century B.C. the Śuṅgas, having affiliation with the Vedic tradition, founded an empire. With the rise of the Guptas, however, the political centre of the Vedic tradition in the Eastern Gangetic Valley was supplanted by the ruling dynasty of the Āgamic tradition. Consequently, the Āgamic tradition of Vaishṇavism, which was previously confined only to central India, spread far and wide in the country and became the major tradition. From Begram in the east to Junagarh in the west, Tusham in the north and Udaygiri near Bhilsa in the south, the Vaishṇava influence reached.

(iv) **Some Minor Cultural Traditions of Tribal People:**—There were also some minor traditions of tribal people who had migrated in the historical period. For illustration, we pick up two minor cultural traditions associated with the Ābhīras and the Khasas. The Ābhīras are a widely scattered people and are found in the entire Uttar Pradesh, although they are mainly spread in Jhansi and Bundelkhand divisions. This semi-nomadic tribe with its cattle grazing profession and distinct cultural trait, seems to have advanced from north in two directions—one branch making a thrust from the western Rajasthan, proceeded through Saurāshṭra towards northern Deccan, whereas through Vinaśana in the South-East of Pṛthūdaka the other branch traversed the Vedic culture-area or Brahmaṛshideśa and established its settlement near Jhansi in the region known as Ahirwara. Their settlement near Jhansi has been mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and the Gurgi inscription of Prabodhaśiva.

A clash between the mountain-worship of the pastoral Ābhīras with the Indra cult of the Vedic tradition must have occurred sometime before the 4th century A.D. The Mandsor Inscription of Naravarmman (v.s. 461) contains a pointed reference to this struggle.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

The cult of Gopāla-Kṛshṇa is their contribution to the major tradition of this culture-area.

The Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar area of the Tarai region are likewise an ancient people. They are mentioned in the *Manu-smṛti*, the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* and the Greek classical writings. In the orthodox tradition, they are described as the Vrātyas or the degraded Kshatriyas. The *Mahābhārata* mentions their presents of *pipilikā* gold to Yudhishṭhira, and places them in the Punjab. These polyandrous people with matrilineal family system are identified by some scholars with the mythical Yakshas. They had their own pattern of life which, though influenced by the major Vedico-Āgamic tradition, was in many ways different from that of the latter.

Let us now revert to the Āgamic tradition.

THE ĀGAMIC TRADITION GRADUALLY GAINS PROMINENCE

Expansion of the Āgamic Culture-Area:—We have seen above that the Āgamic culture-area from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. extended from the Kangra valley to the banks of the Narmadā through Western Punjab, North-Western Frontier and Gujarat, in the form of an incomplete and elliptical ring surrounding the culture-area of the Vedic tradition. From the 4th century A.D., however, the Āgamic area considerably extended westward primarily through the efforts of the Gupta rulers. On their coins, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta styled themselves *Parama-bhāgavata*. Due to this extension of the Āgamic culture-area from central India and the Punjab to Uttar Pradesh, the influence of the Vedic tradition on the people at large declined and became primarily confined to the Brāhmaṇa community. In inscriptions cities are described as resounding with recitation of the Vedas. Gavidhumati and Kāśī are described as centres of the Vedic studies. The Brāhmaṇas are described as "travelling on the path of Śruti and Smṛti". But it is noteworthy that the *chāraṇas* which were the Vedic corporate bodies to foster Vedic recital tradition were gradually supplanted by temples, the Āgamic centres of socio-cultural activities.[43] Udayana,[44] Vardhamāna, Halāyudha[45] and Al-

[43] *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, XIX, ii; XX, ii.

[44] *Nyāya-Kusumāñjalī*, I, 3. [45] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 125.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Beruni[46] lamented the loss of Vedic recital tradition even amongst the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, Āgamic tradition by and by gathered great force as it attracted the attention of royal aristocracies as well as of "the Internal Proletariats". The change-over in the leadership of society from the Vedic to the Āgamic school brought about a great change in socio-political sphere as they had by and large two different sets of values and attitudes towards life and society.

The Vedic World-View:—Vedic World-View is sacrificial. For Vedic people, life was bipolar[47]—moving from birth to death and again from death to birth. Prajāpati-Purusha, the personified totality of all beings, sacrificed himself. Consequently he got dismembered—his various limbs went to frame the universe from gods to particles of sand. Fire (Agni, sacrifice) by giving his own body, restored the frame of Prajāpati so that he might again sacrifice himself to continue the Cycle of Creation.[48] Fire-ritual, therefore, becomes, on one hand, a micro-cosmic representation of unending process of destruction and then restoration of all cosmic life and matter, while on the other, it is a drama of disintegration and renewal in the individual life. This concept of sacrifice became the stock idiom of thought and social organization was likewise viewed.

(i) Ritual and social duties enjoined by the Vedas are to be performed for earthly existence and heavenly pleasures.

(ii) Fruits of actions would of their own accord go to the doer. There is no dispensing agency.

(iii) All social duties should necessarily be performed and social obligations should always be paid off.

Thus, actions (Karma) and the doer, Man (Kartā), occupy the central position in the scheme of life whereas God and His Grace have no place.

The Āgamic World-View:—The Āgamic World-View, on the other hand, is theological. Universe is an outcome of the sportive union

---

[46]*Brāhmaṇa-Sarvasva*, pp. 1–2; see also Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa: *Pitṛi Dayitā*.

[47]*Vedic Rituals in Early Medieval Period*, *ABORI*, XXXIX, iii–iv.

[48]Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, 57, Hague, p. 6; Lévi, *La doctrine du Sacrifice*, 1898, Paris, p. 81.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

between Male and Female aspects of the Supreme Being (God).

(i) Devotion unto personal God brings about his grace which would absolve a man of all sins and secure for him the heavenly bliss and ultimate salvation.

(ii) Man is insignificant and actions are useless if not supported by the grace of God.

(iii) This world is God's *līlā* (sport). His heavenly abode of Goloka or Kailāśa is the real region where life sublime can be achieved.

Thus here, God, Grace and Heaven are in the centre whereas Man has been placed in the peripheric region.

The Triumph of the Āgamic Tradition:—From 700 A.D. in North India U.P. had become an arena for political powers and an area subjected to cultural influences from all sides—north, south, east and west. That the Kaśmīrāgama Pāñcharātra spread into the province from north-east is borne out by the images of Vaikuṇṭha, the main deity of the Kaśmīrāgama. Because of the political influences of the Pratihāras and the Pālas, the Āgamic and the Buddhist trends remained strong. Temples of Vishṇu were erected in U.P. at Bhojpur near Kanauj, Ghotarasi near Partapgarh, Asni in Fatehpur, Siyadoni, Siron near Lalitpur, Mauchanella near Jhansi and elsewhere. Under the Gahaḍavālas, however, the Smārta school of the Vedic tradition reigned supreme. As many as 67 copper plates of the Gahaḍavālas have been discovered till today. As we have pointed out elsewhere, the stone inscriptions of the *pratishṭhā* variety indicate the Āgamic influence, whereas the copper-plate or *dāna-śāsana* envisages the Smārta school. When contrasted with 7 copper plates of the Pratihāras, who ruled over a much wider area, with 67 copper plates of the Gahaḍavālas, the overwhelming influence of the Smārta school in this area becomes self-evident

Thus, as in the earlier phase the cultural focus was on the activities concerning devotion, in the Gahaḍavāla period, we perceive the development of the dharmaśāstric literature and kindred activities associated with the Vedic tradition. It is during this period that Lakshmīdhara, the greatest digest-writer flourished.

By the end of this period, in the 14th-15th century the religious movement spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and the Vedic values were finally discarded in favour of the Āgamic values.

It is a very significant fact that the Āgamic tradition had spread

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

not only almost everywhere in the country, but also in the different strata of society. A perusal of the literature composed during this period will clearly indicate that devotion had become the criterion of all the social activities and orders. After Śaṅkara, all the āchāryas and religious leaders—Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, Vishṇusvāmī, Rāmānanda, Vallabha, Chaitanya, Haridāsa and Harivyāsa were Vaishṇava leaders. In the Vaishṇava fold various sects and sub-sects developed and they gave a fillip to the development of literature, music, painting and other temple arts.

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION OF ĀGAMIC TRADITION

(a) **Āgama and Society:**—In the Vedic tradition, the social organizations of Varṇa and Āśrama had but little theological basis. Varṇas were said to have orginated either from Prajāpati Purusha[49] (the Universal Man, meaning the whole mankind) or from the three Vedas[50], the three Vedic metres[51] or the three mystic syllables.[52] Āśramas were based upon the three social obligations which an individual bears towards his father, teacher and gods for his physical existence, cultural refinement and the preservation of life.[53] Secondly, in the Vedic school, duties pertaining to Varṇa and Āśrama were independent, absolute and culturally compulsive. An individual was expected to perform all social duties and discharge all social obligations. The world and society had sufficient importance in the Vedic fold.

But in the Āgamic tradition Varṇa and Āśrama were made dependent on God and subservient to His grace. Thus the four Varṇas and the four Āśramas were said to have emanated from the four-handed Vishṇu[54] or the four deities of the *Pāñcharātric vyūha*[55] (quadrumvirate of deities). Further, in the Āgamic school the world was God's *līlā* or sport. Heavenly abodes were His real residences.

---

[49] *Ṛgveda*, X, 90, 12. Also Manu, I, 31; *Bhāgavata*, V, 37.
[50] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 13, 9.
[51] *Vasishṭha Dharmasūtra*.
[52] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III, 12, 9.
[53] *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II, 6, 29, 42–43.
[54] *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, VI, 9–11; *Laghu Hārīta*, 9–13.
[55] *Parama Saṁhitā* (G.O.S.).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

This world was, therefore, a transitory phenomenon, and on that account only of a secondary importance. Hence generally speaking social duties were incidental and secondary which were to be given up when they come in conflict with the higher life of spiritual bliss. Regarding Varṇa-Jāti organisation, there had been different reactions in the Āgamic tradition. It was met with stern opposition by the extreme Āgamic school of the Kaulas and Siddhas, accommodated by the moderates, that is, Pāñcharātrikas and Pāśupatas, and was assimilated by the milder marginal schools of the Vaikhānasas.

(b) **Āgama and Art:**—The Vedic tradition was puritanic and activistic. In it the "group-control" was exercised through rigid laws and stiff mores and institutions. In the Āgamic tradition songs, music, dance, sculpture and allied arts were the gentler modes for the regulation of individual behaviour in the group. The Āgamic tradition did not pay much attention to social duties and purity. So the cultural focus in the Āgamic tradition was on the temple architecture, religious sculpture, devotional poetry and other kindred arts associated with the devotional centres, whereas in the Vedic tradition there was a tendency to exhibit greater complexities and variations in the intellectual and active pursuits like the Dharmaśāstric literature, celebration of sacrifices and Vedic rituals. With the upsurge of the Āgamic tradition, therefore, there was an efflorescence in sculpture, architecture and other gentler forms of art.

(c) **Āgama and State:**—In Vedic school, kingship was originally elective and contractual but later on a tendency for the apotheosis of kings is noticed. In early Vedic literature, king is regarded as a demigod and later on Manu asserted that a king is "verily a great God". Thus, a gradual deification of king was a remarkable feature of the Vedic monarchy.

But in the Āgamic tradition, the process was just the reverse. The worldly kingdoms were dedicated to gods or ascetics and kings ruled over their states only as their representatives. The Guhila kingdom was dedicated to god Ekaliṅga.[56] There is some reliable evidence that Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated his kingdom to God Purushottama-Jagannātha and he and his successors administered it as his *rāutas* (feudatories).[57] A Solaṅkī king is

[56] *EI*, XXX, p. 47.

[57] *JOHRS*, 1952, p. 50; see also *EI*, XXX, p. 47.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

reported to have presented Ujjayinī to Mahākāleśvara and appointed the Paramāras as administrators.[58] Avantivarmman and Chedi king had given their states to Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra lineage.[59] There are references to the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, Great King of Kings, the Great Lord Vāmadeva the Śaiva ascetic[60] and to the reign-periods (Vijaya-rājya) of Rāja-Śrī-Sarveśvara, the Great Ascetic of Achaleśvara monastery[61] and of the Jain ascetic Janahamasa Sūri of Kharatara-gachchha.

Regal titles adorned the names of ascetics, for example, of Bhramara-Śivāchārya and Varuṇa-Śiva in the Pallava records. The religious preceptors (*rājagurus*) became very influential and their lines in the Chedi[62] and Chola[63] kingdoms ran for more than two centuries. God was regarded as the emperor of the universe. The *ijyā* or worship was modelled after the royal routine and incorporated the complete regalia—royal parasol, fly whisk and royal seat. God as the King of Kings was roused from sleep by music in the morning. He then took the ceremonious bath, donned the royal robes, put on ornaments and was bedecked with regalia. He held his court, heard complaints, enjoyed music and dance and was served with meals at regular intervals. On festive occasions he was taken in a procession in the right royal manner.[64]

The conception of heavenly abode and different categories of salvations, *Sāyujya*, *Sālokya*, *Sāmīpya* etc., were fashioned after the royal court and its conventions. Thus gods were seen and presented as kings.

In fine, therefore, it may be stated that if there was in the Vedic polity a tendency for the deification of kings, in Āgamic tradition

---

[58]*Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, p. 11.

[59]*EI*, I, p. 355, verse 13.

[60]Benaras Copper Plate of Lakshmī-Karṇṇa, *EI*, II, pp. 405 ff.

[61]*EI*, XXX, p. 47.

[62]*Madhya Bhāratī* (Saugar University Journal, Hindi Section), 1958–59.

[63]K. Nilakanta Sastri, *Cholas*, II, p. 484.

[64]T. M. P. Mahadevan, *Outlines of Hinduism* (Bombay, 1956), p. 49. "The mode of worship (*Pūjā*) is a replica of the services that are usually rendered to a beloved guest or an honoured king.... In the temples the priest is expected to attend on the Deity as he would on a king".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

there was the propensity for the regalization of gods. Thus, history testifies to the accuracy of the Purāṇic statement that Kali age was marked by the infiltration of "persons bereft of spiritual glow" and the pre-eminence of Āgamas which modified to a very large extent and in certain cases supplanted the social philosophy of the Vedic school. The rise of devotional schools of the Āgamas as a moulding factor in Indian Middle Ages may be compared, in certain respects, with the victory of Christianity over Graeco-Roman thoughts in the beginning of the European Middle Ages.[65]

The Āgamic tradition found the support of "Internal Proletariats as well as of the royal aristocracies". The people of Vedic tradition, once a dominant yet creative majority, during this period, yielded place to these "Internal Proletariats" who brought with them a folk tradition and a fresh outlook. Coupled with the devotional enthusiasm of the Āgamics, this new element burst forth with a new creative activity.

(d) **Joyous and Artistic Activities:**—As we have seen earlier, in the puritanic and activistic tradition of the Vedas, the group control was exercised by the enforcement of rigid rules and regulations, in contradistinction to the gentler modes of songs, dances, painting, etc., of the Āgama tradition. *Varṇa* and *Āśrama* regulations were subordinated to devotion in varying measures in different Āgamic schools. Therefore with the emergence of Āgamic factor, the disintegration of Vedic tradition and the social process, through which "Internal Proletariats" gradually became the creative section of society, there was an outburst of joyous socio-religious activities through poetry, sculpture, architecture and similar kindred arts associated with temples. Therefore, early Medieval Age did not show any decadence in temple architecture, religious sculpture and devotional poetry. On the other hand, intellectual and active pursuits associated with Vedic tradition like the dharmaśāstric (legal)

[65] "One thing is clear; the victory of Christianity indicates a break with the past and a changed attitude in the history of human mind. Men had grown weary and unwilling to seek further . . . such an attitude of mind was entirely foreign to the ancient world, even to the earlier nations of the East, not to speak of the Greeks and the Romans. To a Greek the future life was something shadowy and formidable; life on earth alone was prized by him." Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, Vol, II, Home, p. 350.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

literature and celebration of sacrifices and allied Vedic rituals exhibit a marked tendency of petrification, decadence and decline.

Sanskrit literature, peculiarly enough, followed the traditional pattern set up by the people of Vedic-Smārta group although literary criticism was being very greatly influenced by the Āgamic philosophers, especially by the scholar-ascetics of the Kaśmīra Śaiva school. The result was that these branches of Sanskrit poetry which could transport the freshness of devotional enthusiasm of the Āgamics or imbibe the folk-element of the "Internal Proletariats" show the signs of rejuvenation whereas others became clogged and imitative. Thus, the devotional lyrics of Sanskrit composed in this period are, on the whole, more touching and original than the epic poetry which languished into pedantic shows or works of bad taste and bad style. Compared with them, the epics of the "Internal Proletariat", composed in Apabhraṁśa, are more refreshing.

Thus, early Medieval Age, curiously enough, shows, side by side, both the tendencies of petrification and invigoration, decadence and efflorescence.

(e) **Pessimism:**—It has already been shown that there was a feeling of acute frustration and dissatisfaction unrelieved by any hope for the future. So long as the Kali Age lasted, it was thought, the unholy rule of evil would persist. But this pessimism seems to be superficial as it did not detract persons from enjoying the sweet experiences of life. More they criticised the worldly pleasures, closer they hugged them. Consequently a feeling of guilt generally attended their actions, which they tried to get rid of by adopting otherworldly and devotional symbols. Several inscriptions invoke gods as dallying in amorous activities because amour interested them and the alchemy of godly contact transformed it from sin to merit.[66]

(f) **Life Sublime and "Evil World":**—Heavenly life which is painted in very alluring colours is contrasted with the dark silhouette of excessive unhappiness and fickle pleasures of the world. Thus, "a

---

[66]For example, the benedictory verse in the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena:

वक्षोंशुकाहरणसाध्वसकृष्टमौलिमाल्यच्छटाहतरतालयदीपभासः ।
देव्यास्त्वपामुकुलितं मुखमिन्दु भाभिर्व्वीक्ष्याननानिहसितानि जयंति शंभोः ।
सौवर्ण्णा यत्र प्रासादा चा(श्चा)शाद्वारा स्वकामदाः ।
गन्धवप्सिरसो यत्र तत्र गच्छन्ति भूमिदाः । —*EI*, XX, p. 131.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

land-owner would attain that region where there are golden palaces, desires are satisfied merely by willing and where fair *gandharvas* and celestial damsels reside. Conch, comfortable seats, parasol, fine houses and beautiful elephants, all kingly paraphernalia will be available to meritorious men in heaven."[67]

In contrast, "Life in the world is as fickle as a slanting look (*kaṭāksha*) of a fair damsel, pleasure as momentary as the constantly trembling palm leaf and power as transitory as the flash of lightning. Therefore a man lamented, where is the pleasure in the evil world?"[68]

But it may be noted that the "Life Sublime" was painted with the colours of this world. Same worldly pleasures—celestial damsels, comfortable seats and golden palaces—were depicted in the heavenly pictures.

(g) **Ambivalent Attitude or Split Personality:**—Superficial pessimism and ideal repulsion from this world and, side by side, a keen joyous and artistic interest in worldly pleasures with an emphasis simultaneously on soft emotions and violent tenor is the profile of Early Medieval Age. These contradictory attitudes, ideas and values towards the world constituted the normal pattern and, therefore, worldly pleasures were shunned and coveted alike.

In personality development also, the two tendencies of self-negation and self-glorification were operating side by side. Yuvarāja-deva II, the Chedi ruler, submitted his kingdom to Śiva for grace which he regarded as infinitely better than material pelf and prosperity but he, immediately after, launched a military expedition to conquer the neighbouring states.

An average man in Medieval India seemed to have an ambivalent attitude towards world and the self. Like a clandestine lover he did in private what he could not confess in public; he loved the world and his self ardently but declared his repulsion against them in public. Thus:

1. There was a definite break, after the Gupta period, in Indian

---

[67]यत्र हैमानि सद्मानि मणिभिर्भूषितानि च ।
प्रासादा यत्र सौवर्णा चतुर्द्वारा सतोरणाः॥
दिव्याप्सरसो यत्र तासां संख्या ह्यनेकशः ॥१६२॥ —*Bṛhatpārāśara.*
शंखोभद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वाः वरवारणः ।
भूमिदान चिह्नानि ..... ॥ —*EI*, II, p. 205.

[68]See *infra.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

history and culture, described by the people of those times as the advent of Kali age and illustrated by an acute sense of uneasiness and pessimism.

2. This break was due to two factors: (i) the vulgarisation of Indian pattern of life due to political dominance of the *mlechchhas*—Hūṇas and others; and (ii) the predominance of Āgamic values over those of the Vedic tradition.

This is comparable to the destruction of the Western Roman empire by the barbarians and the victory of Christianity over Graeco-Roman thought in the beginning of European Middle Age.

3. Rapprochement between buoyant sub-cultural folk-tradition and puritanic national tradition of the educated elite created an ambivalent attitude but gave a fresh lease of life to various forms of expression associated with the Āgamic tradition or belonging to sub-cultural folk-tradition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Chapter 2

SMĀRTA MOVEMENT: SYSTEMATISATION AND STANDARDISATION

The social movement of the Smārtas embodies the twin processes of systematisation of social structure and standardisation of social norms which were changing due to the erosion of Vedic values and disintegration of the traditional organisation. Inscriptions reveal a conscious attempt on the part of the rulers of the land and social leaders of the age at redefining the structure in accordance with the traditional social philosophy and incorporating *mutatus mutandis* new features, primarily inducted through the ever-widening sphere of Āgamic values. In this movement, three tendencies are clearly discernible:

(a) Systematisation and re-definition of *varṇa* and *āśrama*,

(b) integration of the Āgamic values in the margin around the core of the Vedic culture, and

(c) assimilation of the elements of non-Vedic rituals after decking them out in the Vedic apparel.

1. SYSTEMATIZATION AND RE-DEFINITION OF VARṆĀŚRAMA SYSTEM

(a) **Inscriptional Evidence:**—Inscriptions of the early medieval period bestow high praise on kings who tried to re-establish the religious duties of different castes and stages of life. Thus the inscriptions of Saṁkshobha (529 A.D.) describe him as "engaged in the establishment of the Varṇa and Āśrama institutions".[1]

Avantivarmman, the Maukhari chief, is described as Vishṇu, the wielder of discus, to establish the system of Varṇa and Āśrama.[2] Similarly Bhāskaravarmman, the king of Assam in the seventh

---

[1]वर्ण्णाश्रमधर्म्मस्थापनानिरतेन परमभागवतेनात्यन्तपितृभक्तेन ।
स्ववशामोदकरेण महाराज श्रीसंक्षोभेन ..... । —*Sel. Ins.*, p. 375.

[2]वर्ण्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तचक्रश्चक्रधर इव प्रजानामात्तिहरः ।
—*Nālandā Seal of Avantivarmman Maukhari.*

49919

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

century A.D., was as if the light of religion for demarcating the Varṇāśrama duties which were destroyed (lit. scattered).[3] In the Sirpr Stone Inscription of the seventh century Vāsaṭā, the mother of king Mahāśivagupta, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king of south Kosala, is spoken of as a shelter of the persons following the Varṇāśrama system like the Vedas.[4] Dharmapāla, the Pāla king, established the persons of the different *Varṇas* in their respective duties,[5] while Vigrahapāla duly sheltered the *Varṇāśrama* system. The significance of these references could be understood in the context of the later Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. Chapters dealing with the duties of different castes and the āśramas were added in several Purāṇas during this period and many Smṛtis devote considerable portion to this subject having a particular bearing on the dark age of *Kali* when all the good customs of *Kṛta* had fallen to desuetude.[6] Inscriptions, thus, are the tangible evidence for showing the attempts of the Smārta-sectaries for the revival of the Varṇāśrama.

(i) *Brahma-kshatra*:—It is perhaps because of this revival movement that several practices prevalent in society were taken note of and brought in conformity with the principles enunciated in scriptures. Of this, the Brahma-kshatra is a fair instance. The Guhilas and the Senas[7] in northern India have been described in inscriptions as Brahma-kshatriya. Some of the dynasties in the south as also in Indian colonies abroad are mentioned in epigraphs as

---

[3]भगवता कमलसम्भवेनावकीर्णवर्ण्याश्रमधर्म प्रविभागाय निर्म्मितो
.....श्रीभास्करवर्म्मदेव कुशली ।
—*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, 15–16.

[4]या वर्ण्याश्रमिणां त्रयीव शरणं राज्यस्य नीतिर्यथा
प्रजेव प्रविवेचिनी सदसतोस्तृण्णावतां श्रीस्वयम् ।
उत्खातालिक कल्मषप्रसरया किंचिच्चलन्ती स्थितैः
सन्धानाय यया सखीव पृथ्वी भूयः कृतस्यारिताः । —*EI*, XI, p. 191.

[5]शास्त्रार्थभाजा चलतोनुज्नुशास्य
वर्ण्णान् प्रतिष्ठापयिता स्वधर्मम् ।
श्रीधर्म्मपालेन..... —*EI*, XVIII, p. 305.

[6]*Hazra*, pp. 174–189.

[7]तस्मिन्सेनान्वाये प्रतिसुभटशतोत्सादनब्रह्मवादी
स ब्रह्मक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्तसेनः । —*IB*, p. 46.
परब्रह्मक्षत्रियसुमेरुः···श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन देवपादाः । —*Ibid.*, p. 111; see also *IB*, p. 44, fn. 3, and *PTOC*, II, pp. 343 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

belonging to the "family of the Brahma-kshatriyas".[8] Halāyudha, the court-poet of Muñja-Vākpatirāja, the Paramāra king, describes his royal patron as Brahma-kshatra.[9] The *Mahābhārata*[10] and the *Purāṇas* also mention this peculiar caste which was most probably formed because the Brāhmaṇas exchanged their academic and priestly profession for martial pursuits.[11] The fact that the Bijolia Rock Ins. mentions the dynast of the Chāhamānas (who were classed as Kshatriyas) by name Sāmanta as a *vipra* from Ahichchhatrā corroborates it. The Talagunda Inscription supports the conclusion. Thus, these Brāhmaṇas, who were not actually following their duties, were relegated to the lower caste.

(ii) *Other Examples*:—The epigraphic references to persons belonging to the same clan but to different castes signify the same process. The Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas[12] as also the Pratihāra[13] Kshatriyas, the Dadhyā Brāhmaṇas[14] and the Dadhyā Kshatriyas[15] are mentioned

---

[8]*EC*, VII, Shikarpur, No. 109, 110, 130; also *IA*, XL, p. 35.

ब्रह्मक्षत्रप्रधानो जगति दिवि यथा यज्ञभागैम्महेन्द्रो
राज्ये वंशप्रतीतस्सुरुचिरिव शशि निर्म्मलाकाशदेशे ॥ —*Champā*, p. 45.
तस्मिन् श्री ब्रह्मक्षत्रियकुलतिलके श्रीरुद्र ··· —*Ibid.*, p. 10.

Kings Rudravarmman and Indravarmman of Champā have been designated as "chief among the *Brahma-kshatriyas*".

[9]*Piṅgalasūtra Vṛtti* by Halāyudha quoted by M. M. G. H. Ojha in *Udayapura Rājya kā Itihāsa*, p. 79.

[10]जयद्रथस्तु राजेन्द्र यशोदेव्यां व्यजायत । ब्रह्मक्षत्रोत्तरः सत्यां विजयो नाम विश्रुतः ।
—*Harivaṁśa*.

[11]ब्रह्मक्षत्रान्तरालसम्भूत्यां पत्न्यां विजयं नाम पुत्रमजीजनत् ॥
—*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, XVIII.

A later inscription found at Kīragrāma inscribed in 1296 v.s. = 1240 A.D. mentions *Brahma-kshatra-gotrotpanna* (*EI*, I, p. 119).

[12]*EI*, XVIII.

[13]*Loc. cit.*

[14]Dadhimātā Ins. of Dhrulhaṇa G.S. 289 mentions Dadhyā Brāhmaṇas. It is to be stated that their *Gotra*, *Pravara* and *Śākhā*, which are generally stated while describing the Brāhmaṇas, have not been mentioned.

[15]Inscriptions of Dahiyā or Dadhyā Kshatriyas are (i) Kinsariya Ins. of Dadhichika, v.s. 1056 (*EI*, XII, p. 55ff.); Sati Ins. of Kīrtti Siṁha Dahiyā, v.s. 1300 (*Ibid.*, p. 58); Mangalanā Ins. dated v.s. 1072 (loc. cit.). Dahiyā Rajputs are still found in Rajasthan. Vide

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

in inscriptions. In the process of systematization of the *varṇa* institution, the outlandish tribes were admitted into the Hindu fold but they were assigned different castes on the basis of their respective professions and culture. Thus the Magas are expressly mentioned in inscriptions as belonging to regions outside India[16] and the Nāgas, an ancient tribe, have been regarded respectively as Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. Thus in the beginning of the early medieval period a revival and systematization of the *varṇa* organisation took place.

(b) **The Improved Status of Brāhmaṇas:**—Further, the position of the Brāhmaṇas was improved. Sanctity of the Brāhmaṇas was established much earlier. The Junagarh Inscription of Rudradāman dated Ś.E. 52 = 150 A.D. mentions some benevolent acts (which could not be read as the surface has been peeled off) done by the king towards the Brāhmaṇas and the cows for increase in his merit and fame.[17] But in the interval they seem to have lost their position. The Talagunda Ins.[18] of Śantivarmman (c. 455–70 A.D.) observes that in the Kali age Brāhmaṇahood had proved weaker than the Kshatriyahood. The poet further laments the lot of those Brāhmaṇas who duly stayed in the *gurukulas* and studied the prescribed Vedic texts and yet the fruition of their activities depended upon the grace of the kings. "Hence those hands which were dexterous", says the poet, "in holding the *kuśa* grass, oblation to be thrown in fire . . . now wield shining weapons". But it may be noted that in this inscription itself the Brāhmaṇas are saluted in the benedictory verse.[19] The Arabic writer Ibn Khurdadba (who lived in the second half of the ninth and the first decade of the tenth century A.D.) informs us of the *sabkufrias* from whom kings

---

Marwar Census Report, 1891, Vol. III, p. 17. Both Dadhyā Brāhmaṇas and Rajputs trace their descent from the sage Dadhīchi.

[16]Govindpur Stone Ins. of Gaṅgādhara, *EI*, II, p. 333.

[17]गो ब्राह्मण · · · र्त्थं धर्मकीर्त्तिवृद्ध्यर्थं । —*Sel. Ins.*, p. 174.

[18]कलियुगेऽस्मिन्नहो वत क्षत्रात्परिपेलवा विप्रता यतः ॥११॥
गुरुकुलानि सम्यगाराद्ध्य शाखानधीत्यापि यत्नतः ॥
ब्रह्मसिद्धिर्य्यदि नृपाधीना किमत परं दुःखमित्यतः ॥१२॥
कुशसमिदृषत्स्रुगाज्यचरुग्रहणादिदक्षेन पाणिना
उद्धवर्हदीप्तिमच्छत्रं विजिगीषमाणो वसुन्धराम् ॥ —*Loc. cit.*, p. 451.

[19]तमनुभूसुरा द्विजप्रवरास्सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदवादिनः ।
यत्प्रसादात्त्रायते नित्त्यं भुवनत्रयं पाप्मनोभयात् ॥२॥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

were selected and who were superior even to the Brāhmaṇas.

From the later half of the fifth century A.D., however, Brāhmaṇas not only retrieved their old position but seem to have attained a further elevation in their status. They have been mentioned along with gods, spritual teachers and cows.[20] Veneration towards them by kings has also been recorded in several inscriptions.[21] The Khajuraho Ins., No. 4, describes the unusual beauty of the hair besmeared with mud stuck on the head of the Chandella ruler Yaśovarmmadeva when he saluted the Brāhmaṇas.[22] Some of the inscriptions in the end express good wishes (*svasti*) by way of benediction (*maṅgalācharaṇa*) that the Brāhmaṇas and cows may become happy.[23]

The epigraphic evidence is quite in consonance with the testimony of the *Purāṇas* and the later *Smṛtis*. The *Pārāśara-smṛti* (which is to be assigned to the 5th century A.D.)[24] describes Brāhmaṇas as "moving holy places" whose words alone may purify a man, and in whom all gods inhere.[25] The *Brahma-khaṇḍa*[26] of the

---

[20]प्रासादमालाद्विजदेवतानां
अशेषविशेषार्थं समन्वितायां देवद्विजतवा-
वर्या श्व निषेवितायां कक्करेडितायां
—*Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha, MASI*, XXIII; *IA*, XVII, p. 225 ff.
नन्दन्तु गोद्विजन्मानः प्रजा प्राप्नोति निर्वृतिम् । —*EI*, I, p. 129.

[21]In their own records the Parivrājaka kings describe themselves as देव ब्राह्मण भक्त (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 375). The Dhenakamal Ins. of Jayasiṁha, the Śulki king of Orissa, mentions the king as द्विजगुरुचरणाराधनासक्तचेताः (*JBORS*, II, p. 406). Acts of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva were regarded as purified by respects which he paid to the priest—चक्रेपुरोहित पुरस्कृतिपूतकर्मा (*EI*, II, pp. 1–7).

[22]तस्यविप्रचरण प्रणामजं शैशवे शिरसिजाश्रितं रजः ।
अप्यकालपालिताकृति दधत्सरधावधिक कामनीयकम् ॥ —*EI*, I, p. 143.

[23]स्वस्त्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणपुरोगाभ्यः सर्व्वप्रजाभ्य इति । —*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 397, 327.
नन्दन्तु गोद्विजन्मानः प्रजाप्राप्नोति निर्वृतिम् ॥४६॥ —*EI*, I, p. 129.

[24]Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, p. 195.

[25]ब्राह्मणा जंगमं तीर्थं निर्मलं सर्वकामदम् ।
तेषा वाक्यो दयेनेव शुद्ध्यन्ति मलिना जनाः ॥६०॥
ब्राह्मणा यानि भाषन्ते भाषन्ते तानि देवताः ।
सर्वदेवमया विप्रा न तद्वचनमन्यथा ॥६१॥ —*Pārāśara*, VI.

[26]This Khaṇḍa has been placed between 900–1400 A.D. by Hazra in the *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 115.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Padma Purāṇa says, "Brāhmaṇa is known to be a prop of all gods and is identical with the Lord Nārāyaṇa . . . the man who licks a particle of water sticking to the foot of a Brāhmaṇa gets rid of all sin arising out of the murder of the Brāhmaṇas."

2. INTEGRATION OF THE ĀGAMIC VALUES IN THE MARGIN AROUND THE CORE OF THE VEDIC CULTURE

(a) **'Iṣhṭapūrtta' in Inscriptions:**—*Iṣhṭa* and *pūrtta* as the two ways of attaining spiritual merit have been mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chedis, the Chandellas and the Kachchhapaghātas. The Chandella king Madanavarmman glorified "wealth by utilising it in *iṣhṭa* and *pūrtta*".[27] Kokalladeva, the Chedi king (c. 875–925 A.D.), has been described in the Benaras Copper Plate of Karṇadeva as "one whose mind was fixed in doing philanthropic activities and the performance of the *iṣhṭa* and *pūrtta*".[28] The Sasabahu Ins. of the Kachchhapaghāta king Mahīpala (v.s. 1150) says, "The king, reflecting that fortune and life are unsteady like the flood of a river had set his mind on the performance of *pūrtta-dharma*."[29] Far more interesting is the Tewar Ins. of the time of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva dated 1151 A.D. where the principle that "the final liberation of disciplined persons could be achieved by the *pūrtta* which is a *nivartaka dharma* and by the realisation of the ultimate Truth," has been mentioned.[30] The Kaṅker Ins. of Bhānudeva, 1252 v.s., mentions that the king had become famous because of his *iṣhṭa-pūrtta* activities.[31]

---

[27]यं इष्टापूर्ताभ्यांत्रियमपि कृतार्थत्वमनयत् । —*EI*, I, p. 201.

[28]सम्यक् शास्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदिनं धर्म्माय योगाय च
इष्टापूर्तपरोपकार कृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो(क्ता)मतिः ।
आनृन्या(ण्या)धिगमायदाननिरतिः सद्वंस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा ।
ज्ञानान्यासवसा(शा)न्मुमुक्षु पदवीमन्ते श्रयः प्राप्तवान् ॥६॥
—Benaras Copper Plate of Karṇadeva, 739 K.S., *EI*, II, p. 310 ff.

[29]स विमृश्यनदी पूरगत्वरे सम्पदायुषी ।
पूर्त्तधर्म्मे मतिंचक्रे जिष्णुकृष्णरनयोः फलम् ॥२५॥

[30]पूर्त्तेन धर्मेणनिवर्तकेन मुक्तिर्भवेत्संयमिनश्च वो(बो)धात् । —*IA*, XVIII, p. 210 ff.

[31]*EI*, IX, p. 127. Also see
येषां चार्थसमृद्धिभिः समभवन्निष्टानि पूर्तानि च,
प्राशस्त्येन महीभृतामिव सदा मायावराणामपि ॥२८॥
—Jabalpur Stone Ins. of Vimalaśiva, *EI*, XXV, p. 311 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(b) Meaning of Ishṭa and Pūrtta:—As a compound word '*Ishṭa-pūrtta*' is of hoary antiquity. It is mentioned in the Vedic literature in the sense of "the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifice and charitable acts."[32] But later on *ishṭa* and *pūrtta* denoted two different types of *Smārta* activities. This meaning continues in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Pāśupata Sūtras*. Of the earlier *Smṛtis* only Manu[33] passingly refers to it. Later *Smṛtis*, like *Bṛhat-Pārāśara*[34], *Laghu-Śaṅkha*[35], *Likhita*, *Atri-saṁhitā*[36], *Yama*[37] etc. discuss at length the nature of

---

[32]Some of the important references are quoted below. In all these passages, the word meant "the merit or fruit" of religious activities and not the activity itself.

(a) संगच्छस्व पितृभिः संयमेन इष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन् । —*RV.*, X, 14.8.
The hymn is addressed to the recently dead and it is hoped that he would join his *ishṭapūrtta* i.e. fruits or merits of his good deeds in the highest heaven.

(b) The word occurs in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, the *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā* etc. Vide Kane, II, ii, p. 843. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 15, gives the vow to be taken by the King-elect as यांच रात्रीमजायेहं यांच प्रेतास्मि तदभयमन्तरेणेष्टापूर्ते मे लोकं सुकृतमायुः प्रजां वृञ्जीथा यदि ते यदि ते द्रुह्येमिति ।
Here again *ishṭapūrtta* means merits or fruits of religious activities.

(c) *Kaṭha*, I, i, 7 has been commented upon by Śaṅkara as इष्टापूर्ते इष्टं यागजं पूर्तं मारामादिक्रियाजं फलं । But *Muṇḍaka* 1. 2. 10. इष्टं यागादि श्रौतं कर्म पूर्तं वापी कूपतडागादि स्मार्तं मन्यमाना । From the verse, however, it does not become clear whether the seer is referring to the activities or the merit due to such activities.

[33]इष्टापूर्तं मन्यमाना वरिष्ठं नान्यंछ्रेयो वेदयन्ते प्रमूढ़ाः । श्रद्धयेष्टं च पूर्तं च नित्यं कुर्यादतन्द्रितः । श्रद्धाकृते ह्यक्षये ते भवतः स्वागतैर्धनैः ॥२२६॥

Manu, IV. Kullūka commenting upon the above says—दानधर्मं निषेवेत नित्यमैष्टिक पौत्तिकम् । etc. Here it definitely denotes a division of religious activities.

[34]Chapter X.

[35]*Laghu-Śaṅkha* and *Likhita* may be regarded as *ishṭapūrtta* treatises as they deal only with these two types of *Smārta* activities.

[36]*Vv*, 43–46.

[37]*Vv*, 68–70. This *Smṛti* has been named as *Laghu-Yama* in the *Smṛti-Sandarbha*, Vol. IV.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

ishṭa and *pūrtta*. Some of the *Purāṇas* and lexicons[38] also refer to this division of the *Smārta* dharma. This, therefore, seems to have been a popular division of the *Smārta* activities during our period.

(c) Ishṭa and Pūrtta Differentiated:—These two categories have been distinguished on some important differences. According to inscriptions and the *Smṛtis*, *pūrtta* is a *nivartaka-dharma*, which would lead one to final salvation.[39] Mainly the transitoriness of life inspires the performance of these activities.[40] The *Smṛtis* explicitly state that the *pūrtta* could be done even by the Śūdras.[41] It consists of general works of benevolence like excavation of water reservoirs or construction of temples, setting up of images[42] etc. which are either pre-eminently Āgamic in character or cccupied only a subordinate position in the Vedic tradition. The *ishṭa* on the other hand is a *pravartaka-dharma*, which has heavenly plea-

---

[38] *Amarakosha*, II, *Brahmavarga*.

[39] Tewar Ins. of Gayākarṇa, K.S. 902 = 1151 A.D., *IA*, XVIII, p. 210. *Laghu-Śaṅkha* 6, *Likhita* 6, *Atri-Saṁhitā* 46, *Yama* 68.

[40] Copper Plates generally mention the transitoriness of life before making the grant. For example:—

(a) सागरतरंग चंचल जीवलोकच्छाया समालक्ष्मीफेनोपमं जीवितं म वधार्य etc.
—The Kalavan Plates of Yaśovarmman, *EI*, XIX, p. 70 ff.

(b) विहितैव तावदियमनित्यता जगतः कतिपय दिवसावलोकरमणीया मधुमास कुसुमसम्पदिव संपत(त्)सततगत्वरस्वरूपं · · · देहिनामायुरापातमधुराः कटुकपाकिनो · · · इव विषय-भोगाः · · · वेश्याविलासितानीव दुरुपचाराणीन्द्रियाणि । कतिपयकलाविलासिनी जलबुद्-बुदस्तवकसंपदिव यौवनश्रीः । —*EI*, XIV, p. 193 ff.

(c) रंभागर्भोपमं संसारमाकलय्य तडिच्चंचलां लक्ष्मीं ज्ञात्वा जलबुद्बुदोपमं जीवितमिदं श्रुत्वा यौवनं च तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुवत् ।
—Charakhari Plates of Devavarmman, *EI*, XX, p. 127.

[41] इष्टापूर्तौ द्विजातीनां सामान्यै धर्मसाधनौ ।
अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रः पूर्ते धर्मे न वैदिकी ।

[42] "It is extremely doubtful whether images were generally worshipped in the ancient Vedic times . . . . One can say without much fear of contradiction that the religious practices among the higher strata of the Vedic Aryans did not include the worship of images in the house or in the temples." (Kane, *HD*, II, ii, pp. 706–07). See also Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 364. The *Bhāgavatas* or the *Pāñcharātrins* seem to be mainly responsible for the dissemination of the practice of image-worship among the higher section of the orthodox Indian people.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

sures as reward and which could not be performed by the Śūdras. It consists of the Vedic studies, *agnihotra*, asceticism, maintenance of guests and Vaiśvadeva[43] which are primarily Vedic in nature. In short we may say that the *ishṭa* was the continuation of the Vedic tradition while the *pūrtta* consisted of those activities which are either not Vedic in origin or which were only subsidiary or subordinate rituals in the Vedic tradition.

(d) **Ishṭa:**—Performance of *agnihotra*, Vaiśvadeva and austerities, study of the *Vedas*, honouring of guests and truthfulness constitute this class. These practices can be traced to the Sūtras and the Vedic literature. *Satya* (truthfulness) and *tapas* (austerities) are the common duties extolled in the Vedic literature as also in other works. *Agnihotra*, *Vaiśvadeva*, *study of the Vedas* and *honouring of guests* are the *Five Great Sacrifices*.

(i) *Pañcha-Mahāyajñas*:—Some of the records of the Gupta age mention the giving of the benefactions to the Brāhmaṇas for enabling them to perform the *Pañcha-mahāyajñas*[44] while others specifically mention the items *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra* or *vaiśvadeva*. The grants of Gurjjaras, the Maitrakas, the Kalachuris and the Rāshṭrakūṭas mention four or five items constituting the *Pañcha-mahāyajñas*. In some of them *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and *agnihotras*[45]

---

[43]अग्निहोत्रं तपः सत्यं वेदानांचैव धारणम् ।
आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवंच इष्टमित्यभिधीयते । —*Laghu-Śaṅkha*, 5.

[44](a) Mallasarul Inscription of Gopachandra, Regnal year 3. —Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 361, 363.

(b) Damodarpur CP. of the time of Kumāragupta I, G.E. 128 (447 A.D.). —Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 286. Sankhedā Grant of Sāntilla (*EI*, II, p. 24) also mentions *Pañcha-mahāyajñas*. *Bali*, *Charu*, *Sattra* or Vaiśvadeva have been mentioned in the

(w) Damodarpur CP. of Gupta Era 224 (543 A.D.),

(x) Khoh CP. of Śarvanātha, G.E. 193 (513 A.D.),

(y) Bhamodra-Mohota CP. of Droṇa Siṁha, Gupta-Valabhī Era 183 (502 A.D.),

(z) Ghugharahati CP. of Samāchāradeva, *EI*, XVIII, p. 76. The first three, however, are temple-grants.

[45](a) First CP. of Dadda II, K.S. 380.

(b) Abhona CP. of Śaṅkaragaṇa, K.S. 347, *EI*, IX, p. 296.

Sri Pratap Singh Library SRINAGAR.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

are enumerated while others include either *trisandhyā*[46] (performance of the *sandhyā* prayer three times a day), *atithi*[47] (honouring of guests) or *havana*[48] as the fifth sacrifice.

Five Great Sacrifices consisting in offering oblations in fire (*deva-yajña*) and libation of water to manes (*pitṛ-yajña*), in giving *bali* to the creatures (*bhūta-yajña*), in honouring of guests (*nṛ-yajña*) and lastly in the study of Vedas (*Brahma-yajña*) have been mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[49], *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[50] and the *Dharmasūtras*. *Hārīta*[51] gives a slightly different account and names them respectively as *huta* (*Deva-yajña*), *nirvāpa* (offering of cake to manes), *āhuta* (offering of the *bali* to the *bhūtas*), *prahuta* (feeding of the Brāhmaṇas) and *prāśita* (partaking of the remainder by the *yajamāna*). After defining the Five Sacrifices as given in the Vedic literature, Manu gives this new nomenclature also.[52] These new terms were actually ancient[53] and have other associations as well. The *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* mentions *huta*, *āhuta*, *prahuta* and

---

(c) Sankhedā CP. of Dadda IV, K.S. 392, *EI*, V, p. 39.

(d) Sarasvani CP. of Buddharāja, K.S. 361, *EI*, IV, p. 298.

(e) Vandor CP. of Buddharāja, K.S. 360, *EI*, XII, p. 34.

[46]Second Kaira CP. of Dadda II, K.S. 385.

[47](a) Prince of Wales Museum CP. of Jayabhaṭa III, K.S. 486 (*EI*, XXIII, p. 149).

(b) Bantia Plates of Dharasena II, Gupta-Valabhī Era 257 (573 A.D.) (*EI*, XXI, p. 180).

(c) Anjanari CP. of Jayabhaṭa III, K.S. 461 (*EI*, XXV, p. 292).

[48]Sunao CP. of Saṁgrama Siṁha, K.S. 292 (540–41 A.D.) (*EI*, X, p. 75).

[49]पंचैव महायज्ञाः । तान्येव महासत्राणि भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो पितृयज्ञो देवयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति ।
—*Śatapatha Br.*, XI, 5.6.f.

[50]*Tait. Āra.*, II, 10.

[51]हुतो निवापो हुतः प्रहुतः प्राशित इति पंच पाकयज्ञाः । हुतं देवानाम् । पिण्डनिवापः पितृणाम् । वास्तुपालभूतेभ्यः बिलिहरणमहुतम् । यद्दधृत्यान्नं ब्राह्मणाय ददाति सः प्रहुतः यच्छिष्टं प्राश्नाति स यजमानभरगस्तस्यै तदाहुः प्राशितामिति ।
—*Hārīta* quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru* (G.D.S.), III, p. 146.

[52]अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयस्तु तर्पणम् । होमो दैवोबलिर्भौतो नृपयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥
आहुत चहुतं चैव तथा प्रहुतमेव च । ब्राह्ये हुतं प्राशितं च पंचयज्ञान्प्रचक्षते ॥
—*Manu*, III.

[53]They also occur in the *Atharvaveda*, VI, 71.2. *Bṛ. Up.*, I.5.2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

prāśita as the four *pākayajñas* and the *Śāṅkhāyana*[54] explains them as *agnihotra*, *bali*, *pitṛ-yajña* and *brahmahuta*. This seems to have caused a good deal of confusion as *bali*, *vaiśvadeva* and *agnihotra* were also included in the Five Great Sacrifices. Epigraphs testify that they were so included at least by sixth century A.D.

(ii) *Pañcha-Mahāyajñas amongst the Jains*:—The Surat CP. of Karkarāja Suvarṇavarsha dated 793 A.D.[55] and Konur Inscription of Amoghavarsha I[56] record benefactions given to Jain establishments for several purposes including respectively (a) *charu*, *bali*, *dāna* and *pūjā*, and (b) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra* and *atithi*. The *Yaśastilaka-champū*[57] also describes the performance of the *pañcha-mahāyajña* by the Jains which consist in giving donations to *aveśika*, *āśrita* (dependents), caste-fellows, poor and relations. But on this basis it is hardly possible to maintain that Jains had adopted the Brāhmaṇical great sacrifices. In the Konur Inscription of Amoghavarsha of Śaka 782 "which however is not an original record of the ruler but professes to be a copy of a copper-plate charter of his, prepared about the middle of the 12th century A.D.,"[58] the five Brāhmaṇical sacrifices have been evidently mentioned "by the oversight of the imperial secretariat."[59] The Surat CP. of Suvarṇavarsha however mentions only *bali*, *charu* and *dāna* which were prevalent among the Jains also and which need not be regarded as indicating the assimilation of the Great Sacrifices by the Jains. The *Pañcha-mahāyajñas* of the *Yaśastilaka-champū* have nothing in common with the Brāhmaṇical sacrifices except the name.[60]

(iii) *Prevalence of the Pañcha Mahāyajñas*:—Epigraphs from the

---

[54]हुतोऽग्निहोत्र होमेण अहुतो वलिकर्मणा । प्रहुतः पितृकर्मणा प्राशितो ब्राह्मणे हुतः ॥
—*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛ. Sū.*, 1.10.7.

[55]खण्डस्फुटितनवकर्म्मचरुवलिपूजार्थं ।

[56]*EI*, VI, p. 31.

[57]*BK*, VIII, Section 43.

[58]*EI*, XVIII, p. 236.

[59]Lines 37 and 38 already mention the purpose of the grant (repair of the temple, etc.) and hence the reference to *bali*, *charu* etc. later on is quite out of place.

[60]See *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 314. But *contra* Handiqui, p. 333: "the rites mentioned in the two inscriptions could perhaps be ultimately performed by the Jains."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Gupta period mention them as the duties of the Brāhmaṇas in the fulfilment of which even the kings used to lend their helping hand. From the seventh century A.D. to the tenth century A.D. they were quite popular in Western India. Donations were made by the Gurjjaras, the Kalachuris and the Rāshṭrakūṭas to the Brāhmaṇas for their performance. It is really strange that we could not come across as yet even one single instance where any king had made any donations for enabling the Brāhmaṇas perform these sacrifices after the Gupta period in the rest of Northern India, except Bengal. They were not, however, quite out of vogue even then as we sometime get incidental reference to their performance.[61]

3. DEVELOPMENT OF RITUALS : ASSIMILATION OF THE ELEMENTS OF NON-VEDIC RITUALS AFTER DECKING THEM OUT IN THE VEDIC APPAREL

(a) **Snāna:**—How simple rituals of the *Sūtras* gradually became complicated in the *Smṛtis* and *Nibandhas* will be well illustrated by the development of *snāna*, *tarpaṇa*, *sandhyā* and *homa*. *Snāna* (bath) is one of the six *Smārta* duties of a *dvijāti* householder.[62] Inscriptions mention two kinds of bath, ordinary bath in water and *mantra-snāna*.[63] They describe bath in holy rivers on some specific occasions like astrological conjunctions i.e. *kāmya-snāna*, bath as a part of bigger ritual i.e. *kṛtyāṅga-snāna* and a dip in holy places merely for increasing merit attendant on such pious rites. The Kamauli inscription of Vijayachandra Gahaḍavāla dated 1226 v.s. mentions *mantra-snāna* also. The *mantra-snāna* is mentioned in

---

[61]पंचक्रतूनामपि यश्च कर्ता श्रीरामचन्द्रोऽथ बभूव विद्वान् ।

—Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha, K.S., *MASI.*

The daily performance of *pañcha-mahāyajñas* was regarded more important than even the great sacrifices in the time of *Praśastapāda* as he says:

पंचानां महायज्ञानां सायम्प्रातरनुष्ठानं एकाग्निविधानेन पाकयज्ञसंस्थानां च नित्यानां, शक्तौ विद्यमानायामग्न्याधेयादीनां हविर्यज्ञसंस्थानामाग्निष्टोमादीनां सोमयज्ञसंस्थानां च ।

[62]सन्ध्यास्नानं जपो होमं स्वाध्यायो देवतार्च्चनम् ।
वैश्वदेवातिथियंच षट्कर्म्माणि दिने दिने ॥ —*Pārāśara*, I.

[63]अभिषेक-मंत्रस्नानेन स्नात्वा ।

—l. 23, *Kamauli CP. of Vijayachandra, 1226* v.s., *EI*, IV, p. 125 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

the *Bṛhat-Pārāśara Smṛti*,[64] the *Purāṇas*[65] and the commentaries.[66] Although its earliest reference is to be found in the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*, an important scripture of the Pāñcharātrikas written in the Gupta period and as *mantra* in this form evidently is an Āgamic feature the *mantra-snāna* seems to be of Āgamic origin. The inscription, therefore, indicates that this Āgamic feature was introduced in the *Smārta* rite of *snāna* by the twelfth century A.D.

(b) Sandhyās:—The *Sūtras* and earlier *Smṛtis* lay down only morning and evening *sandhyās* but gradually the noon-tide *sandhyā* was introduced.[67] Thus, the *Nibandhas* uniformly prescribe three *sandhyās*. It may, however, be noted that a doubtful reference to three *sandhyās* occurs in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* also.[68]

The epigraphic evidence is quite interesting. The Second Kaira CP. of Dadda II, K.S. 384, contains an explicit reference to the three *sandhyās*.[69] A Sena inscription also suggests the performance of three *sandhyās*.[70] It may, therefore, be concluded that by the seventh

---

[64]मान्त्रं पार्थिवमाग्नेयं वायव्यं दिव्यमेव च । वारुणंमानसंचेति सप्तस्नानान्यनुक्रम ॥५५॥
—*Bṛhat-Pārāśara*, II.
The verse has been quoted by Aparārka as from the *Yogī-Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. The *Bṛhad Yogī-Yājñavalkya* has been published but the quoted verse does not occur there.

[65]Wilson (*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, III. 114) notes that a person may perform the *mantra-snāna* if bathing is injurious. He also quotes a commentary to this effect. See also *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, ii, pp. 124, 136.

[66]*Aparārka*, pp. 134–135.

[67]*Gautama*, II. 17; *Manu*, II. 101.

[68]Yājñavalkya at one place mentions only two *sandhyās*—
सन्ध्यां प्राक् प्रातरेवं हि तिष्ठेदासूर्य्यदर्शनात् ।
अग्निकार्यं ततः कुर्य्यात् सन्ध्ययोकर्मयोरपि ॥२५॥
while at other place, III, he says:
निशायां वा दिवा वापि यदज्ञानकृतं त्वघम् ।
त्रैकाल्यसन्ध्या-करणात्तत्सर्वं विप्रणश्यति ॥३०७॥

[69]The Second Kaira CP. of Dadda II, 384 K.S.

[70]प्रत्यूषे निगडस्वनैर्न्नियमित-प्रत्यार्थपृथ्वीभुजा
मध्यान्हे जलपान-मुक्त-करटि प्रोद्दालघण्टारवैः ।
सायंवेश-विलासिनी-जनरणन्मंजीरमंजुस्वनै-
र्येनाकारि विभिन्नशब्द-घटना वन्ध्यन्त्रिसन्ध्यं नमः ।
—Edilpur CP. of Keśavasena, *IB*, III, p. 122.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

century A.D. three *sandhyās* came into vogue which continued to the end of this period.

(c) Homa:—Inscriptions describe the performance of *homa* ceremony either as a subordinate ritual of some bigger ceremony or as an independent rite. It was performed as a part of Āgamic or *Smārta* worship (*pūjāṅga-homa*) or some bigger ritual like *dāna, adbhuta-śānti* etc. As an independent rite, it became popular in the last phase when *Koṭihoma* and *Lakshahoma* were prescribed for various purposes. *Koṭihoma* and *Homa-chatushṭaya* were celebrated by the Buddhist king Śrīchandra of Bengal towards the close of the tenth century A.D. *Homa-karma* was done by Lakshmaṇasena also. Lakshmīkarṇṇa, the Chedi king, is described as "a lion whose (fluttering) manes are the rising flames to fire in 'Homa'."

(d) Tarpaṇa:—In the *āhnika* rites, *snāna* is followed by *tarpaṇa* of which elaborate procedure is given in the *Sūtras*, *Smṛtis* and the *Nibandhas*. Epigraphs mention *tarpaṇa* of either (a) gods, sages and men[71], or (b) of gods, *pitṛs* and seven divine men[72], or (c) *mantra*, gods, sages, men, *bhūtas and* the *pitṛs*.[73] Regarding the number and names of the sages to be satiated there is a considerable confusion in scriptures. The Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha K.S. 944 = 1192 A.D. mentions the offering of *tarpaṇa* to seven divine men (sages)—a number which occurs in the *Kātyāyana-snāna sūtra*.[74] The *mantra-tarpaṇa* of the Gahaḍavāla records is nowhere mentioned in the *Smṛtis* although Āgamic works describe it as an important Āgamic rite.[75] Curiously enough the inscription mentions this *mantra-tarpaṇa*

---

[71]देवऋषिमनुष्यान्संतर्प्य—*EI*, IX, p. 108. The Chandella epigraphs mention देवमनुष्यपितृन्संतर्प्य (l. 14, Semra CP. of Paramarddideva, *EI*, IV).

[72]यस्मिंश्तीरे मरकतशिलारत्नबद्धासनस्थै-
वीची-लोलारजतशफरी-वंचितोरुप्रदेशैः ।
विप्रैस्तृप्ता अहरपितरः सप्त-दिव्या मनुष्या
आशंसन्ति प्रथितयशसां य स जीयाद्भुवि(वी)ति ॥३६॥
—*MASI*, XXIII, p. 133 ff.

[73]मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा । —*EI*, XIV, pp. 193 ff.

[74]Kane, *op. cit.*, II, i, p. 693.

[75]The *Jayākhya Saṁhitā* describes *Mantra-tarpaṇa* thus:

यागस्थानाच्चतिलकं कृत्वा न्यासं स्वविग्रहात् ।
उपसंहृत्य मे धारी कुर्याद्वै भोजनादिकम् ॥२६१॥
इदमुक्तं समासेन मन्त्रतर्पणं द्विज । —p. 154.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

as a part of *Smārta* ritual and thereby indicates that this Āgamic feature was absorbed by the *Smṛtis* during the 12th century A.D.

Again on p. 232 it is said that this *mantra-santarpaṇa* is to be performed after worship:

एवं हि पूजनं कृत्वा मन्त्रसन्तर्पणं ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Chapter 3

PŪRTTA AND PAÑCHADEVOPĀSANĀ

PŪRTTA

A. INTRODUCTION

(a) Nature and Contents of Pūrtta:—The *pūrtta* activities consist of the excavations of square wells[1] (*vāpī*), wells[2] (*kūpa*), tank[3] (*taḍāga*) and other kinds of water reservoirs, the construction of temples and monasteries and the establishment of the alms- and rest-houses. *Dāna*[4], if it is not given in connection with sacrifices, is also included in this category. Some of these activities are found described and recommended in the Vedic tradition although there they occupy only a subordinate position. Thus *dāna* has been greatly eulogised in the *Ṛgveda* while the *Gṛhyasūtras*[5] describe the procedure of rites to be performed at the time of excavation and dedication of water-reservoirs. Regarding temples, it is to be noted that the *Sūtras*[6] were aware of their existence but, peculiarly

---

[1]वापीकूपतडागानि देवतायतनानि च । अन्नप्रदानमारामः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥

[2]ततः खातन्तडागन्तु विपाली विश्वकीमता ।
शोभाढ्या दीर्घिका प्रोक्ता चतस्रा तु वापिका ॥
कूपा पादविहीनाश्च सपादास्तोरणान्विताः ।
—*Dvārībandha, Dānakāṇḍa, Kṛtya-kalpataru*, p. 289.

[3]*Dvārībandha* (dam) has also been included in the same category by Lakshmīdhara. It has been described as:
संक्रमा बन्धवरणा सरन्ती मातृका मता । गिरेन्तर्गता द्वारा सस्फोटं हरकन्तथा ॥—*Loc. cit.*

[4]एकाग्निकर्म्म-हवनं त्रेतायां यच्च हूयते । अन्तर्वेद्यांच यद्दानमिष्टमित्यभिधीयते ॥
—*Mahābhārata*, quoted by *Aparārka*, p. 290.
ग्रहोपरागे यद्दानं सूर्यसंक्रमणेषु च । द्वादश्यादौ च यद्दानं पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥
—*Jātukarṇya*, quoted by Kane, *op. cit.*, II, i, note 370.

[5]The *Āśva. Gṛ. Pariśishṭa*, IV. 9; *Pāraskara Gṛ. Pariśishṭa*, *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛ.*, *Bahvṛch Gṛ. Pariśishṭa* as quoted in the *Kṛtya-kalpataru* etc. describe the procedure of dedication of water-reservoirs.

[6]The *Laugākshī Gṛ.* (XVIII. 3), *Gautama DS.* (IX. 13–14),

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

enough, they do not contain any procedure either for construction of shrines or for the installation of images. Āgamas, on the other hand, contain elaborate rules in this connection. It may also be mentioned that even the foreign tribes[7] settled in India and the Śūdras were enjoined to perform *pūrtta* activities. We have already seen that they have been distinguished from the *ishṭa* activities which have been described as Vedic. Thus the *pūrtta* activities in main consist of the rites which were allowed even to those who did not belong to the Vedic tradition.

(b) The Popularity of the Pūrtta Rituals:—Neither the Vedic ceremonies nor the *ishṭa* rituals were so popular during this age as the *pūrtta* activities. The Vedic and *ishṭa* rituals were mainly practised by the Brāhmaṇas while the *pūrtta* activities were the representative *Smārta* rituals of the whole community during this age. Numerous inscriptions recording different kinds of *dānas* and *mahādānas* as also mentioning the excavation of water-reservoirs are found all over India. Similarly, a great number of temples are still existing in spite of human and natural vandalism testifying to the popular movement of temple construction. The eulogies of kings and the *praśastis* of religious persons emphasise their *pūrtta* activities in interesting contradiction to the sacrificial ceremonies mentioned in the *praśastis* of the earlier age. Thus the king Gārulaka Siṁhāditya in Pālitānā Copper Plate[8] is described as "one who even in the *Kali* age had followed the *dharma* of *Kṛta* by building several temple halls, water- and rest-houses and monasteries." Dadda II[9] had outstripped even elephants by continuous-

---

Śāṅkhāyana Gṛ. (IV. 12–15) and *Vishṇu DS.* (69.7.30) mention the word *devāyatana* or *devatāyatana.*

[7]भूमिपानांच शुश्रूषा कर्तव्या सर्वदस्युभिः । आचार्यगुरुशुश्रूषातथैवाश्रमवासिनाम् ॥१८॥

Besides the performance of *pitṛ-yajña* and *pākayajña* all other activities may be grouped under pūrtta (*Mbh.*, Śānti., Ch. 54).

[8]निरंकुशपराक्रमाक्रान्त-द्वारिकाधिपतिरनेक देवायतनान्-सभाप्रपारामावसथविहारान् कारयिता कलाद(व)पि क्रि(कृ)तयुगधर्म्मावलम्बी ।

—Pālitānā CP. of Gārulaka Siṁhāditya, VAL.S. 255 = 574 A.D., *EI*, XI, p. 18.

[9]निरंकुशदानप्रवाह प्रवृत्तदिग्दन्तिविभ्रमगुणसमूहः ।

—Ilao CP. of Dadda II, K.S. 417; *IA*, XIII, p. 116–119.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

ly giving *dāna* while Jayabhaṭa III[10] was "proud of performing all the royal *dāna* ceremonies". King Mahāśivagupta[11] has been described as one "who induced persons to build several temples, monasteries, rest-houses and pavilions". Raṇabhañjadeva was one "who had pleased the hearts of all the poor, the distressed and the orphan people by continuous gift." The Dewal Praśasti of Chhinda[12] and the Devapaṭṭan Praśasti of Śrīdhara[13] highly eulogise kings Chhinda and Mūlarāja for their construction of water-reservoirs. Vallālasena "was a cloud to cool down the heat of poverty of good people even out of season."[14] "The enemy of poverty as Lakshmaṇasena was, he distributed such gifts as the sacred lore prescribed."[15]

A picture of the efflorescence of the *pūrtta* movement has been

---

[10]अशेषपार्थिवदानाभिमानो · · ·

—Nausari CP. of Jayabhaṭa III, K.S. 456, *IA*, XIII, p. 75 ff.

[11]सकलजनकारितानेकविविधदेवकुलायतनविहाराराममण्डपोद्यानः · · ·

—*JBORS*, II, p. 52 ff.

[12]कण्टे काले कलावाप(प्य)भिमवति जगत्कूपवापीतडागै-
रासन्नारामसत्रैः मुरसदनमठैर्म्मण्डितायाममुष्याम् ।
रम्यामृद्धिं वहन्त्यामतिसुजनजनानन्दितायां नगर्यां · · · —*EI*, I, p. 83.

[13]वापीकूपतडागकुद्दिममठप्रासाद सत्रालयान्
सौवर्ण्णध्वज तोरणापणपुरग्रामप्रपामण्डपान् ।
कीर्त्तिश्रीसुकृतप्रदान्नरपतिः मूलराजस्त्रिभिः
तैरग्रासमिभैर्व्यधाययदमुं चौलुक्य-चूड़ामणिः ॥ —*EI*, II, p. 440.

[14]दैन्योत्तापपप्रशमनफलाकालजलरः, Naihati CP. of Vallālasena, *IB*, p. 73. This may be compared to the following verse from the *Dānasāgara* of the same king:

सर्व्वाशा परिपूरयन्नुपचितश्रीदानवारां घनै-
रासारैरभिषिक्तनिर्म्मलयशः शालेय भूमण्डलः ।
दैन्योत्तापभृतामकालजलदः सर्वोत्तरः क्ष्माभृतां
श्रीवल्लालनृपस्ततोऽजनि गुणाविर्भविगर्भेश्वरः ॥

—*Kṛya-kalpataru*, V, *Appendix* B, p. 337.

[15]आम्नायः प्रणिनाय यानिमुनयो यान्यस्मरन् संस्तुता
न्याचारेषु च यानि तानि ददिरे दानानि दैन्यद्रुहा ।
ह्रीणत्वं च तथाप्यनेन नियमं कालेषु संख्या तता-
ष्वर्थिनमन्तरेण च फलाशसां विधौ शृण्वता ॥

—Anulia CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, *IB*, p. 86.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

given in the Svapneśvara Inscription[16] as follows:

"There were rows of water-houses in every street, tanks in every town, *maṭhas* and Vedic monasteries in every direction and dams everywhere. All the temples were enlightened with lamps." Likewise the Dewal Praśasti of Chhinda describing the town remarks that it was decorated with wells, square-wells, tanks, rest- and alms-houses, temples and monasteries.

These epigraphic references may well be compared with contemporary literary descriptions. Lakshmīdhara introducing himself says that he "sanctified the earth with gifts of wealth overreaching the ambitions of the supplicants by the construction of tanks whose atmosphere was resounded with the hum of the bees reeling in the scent of the blown lotuses, and by the foundation of towns of Vedic scholars who put an end to *kali* through unbroken Vedic tradition."[17]

B. EXCAVATION OF WATER-RESERVOIRS (JALĀŚAYOTSARGA)

The excavation of water-reservoirs forms an important item in this category. These reservoirs are mentioned in Vedic literature and the *Sūtras*, *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas*, *Smṛtis* and *Nibandhas* lay down the procedure of their excavation and dedication. The *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa mentions that the *Smṛtis* specially enjoin to dedicate

---

[16]अपां शालामालाः पथि पथि तडागाः प्रतिपुरं
प्रदीपा सम्पूर्णाः प्रतिसुरगृहं यस्य विमलाः ।
मठा वेदादीनां द्विजपुरविहारा प्रतिदिशं
विराजन्ते सत्रान्यपि च परितस्सेतु-निवहः ॥ —*EI*, VI, p. 202.

[17]येनाविच्छेदवेदध्वनिनिहतकलि-श्रोत्रियाणां पुरीभिः
फुल्लाब्जमोदमाद्यन्मधुकरमुखरव्योमभागैस्तडागैः ।
चक्रे धात्री पवित्रा विभववितरणैरर्थिवाञ्छातिरिक्तैः · · · —*GOS*, p. 1.

These eulogies may be compared with those found in the Śuṅga, Āndhra, Vākāṭaka and the Gupta inscriptions. Chaṇḍeśvara, who flourished in the first quarter of the 14th century A.D., says:

उन्निद्राम्भोजराजीबहुलपरिमलोद्भूतरागैस्तडागै
रुन्मीलद्ब्रह्मघोषैरतिविमलदधैः शासनैरप्रजानाम् ।
लक्ष्मीं विश्वम्भरायाः स्फुटमहृतकृती यो महादानदानैः
श्रीमच्चण्डेश्वरो यं रचयति रुचिरं दानरत्नाकरं सः ॥

—Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, p. 134.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

water-reservoirs for public use.

Epigraphs mention the excavation of (i) *vāpī* (square-wells), (ii) *kūpa* and *kūpikā* (wells), (iii) *taḍāga* (tank), (iv) *dīrghikā* (pleasure-tank), (v) *pushkariṇī* (pond), (vi) *prapā* (a place where water is supplied *in gratis*), and (vii) *sara* (lake).[18] Construction of dams and bunds, though not mentioned by early writers, has been described by Lakshmīdhara (c. 1100 A.D.). *Dvārībandha* is a special type of architecture in which a dam (*bandha*) is constructed on a mountain-spring and a sluice gate (*dvāra*) is provided for draining water in channels. Where the construction of dam was not necessary, merely a sluice-gate (*dvāra*) was constructed. Several such *dvārībandhas* have been found in the Chamba State.

(a) **The Procedure of Dedication**:—There are four traditions of dedicating water-reservoirs—Vedic, Āgamic, Purāṇic and Heterodox.

(i) *Vedic Procedure*:—The *Sūtras* describe this procedure which consists of *sthālīpāka* sacrifice in honour of Varuṇa on a pious day and constellation and of giving a pair of cows to the officiating priest. This procedure was perhaps continued to much later times and was described as *Vāruṇa-vidhi* by Govindānanda in his *Dāna-*

---

[18](a) *Vāpī* has been mentioned in inscriptions:

(i) Bhuvaneśvara Ins. of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, *IB*, p. 35, v. 31.

(ii) Nagar Ins. of Dhanika of the Guhila dynasty, v.s. 741. —*Bhārata Kaumudī*, p. 272.

(iii) *EI*, I, p. 354 ff.

According to Raghunandana, *Vāpī* is a step-well—कूपो द्वारको गर्त्तविशेषः बद्धसोपानको यं वापीति द्वैतनिर्णयः। But Lakshmīdhara in *Dānakāṇḍa* (*GOS*, p. 289) says:

शोभाढ्या दीर्घिका प्रोक्ता चतुस्रा तु वापिका।
कूपा पादविहीनाश्च सपादास्तोरणान्विताः॥

Inscriptions support Lakshmīdhara as Gaṅgadhāra Ins. of Viśvavarmman informs us that:

शीतस्वादुविशुद्धभूरिसलिलं सोपानमालोज्ज्वलम्।
कूपंचैनम कारयद्गुणनिधिः श्रीमन्मयूराक्षकः॥२४॥

(b) *Kūpa* has been mentioned in

(i) *BI*, p. 186–187.

(ii) *AC*, p. 216, fn.

(iii) *MASI*, XXIII, p. 117.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

kriyā-kaumudī probably because Varuṇa occupies the most important place in this procedure. The merit (*phala*) obtained thereby has not been explicitly described.

(ii) *Āgamic Procedure*:—In it, the sacrifice is substituted by worship which is performed with the Āgamic features of *nyāsas*. Varuṇa figures here as a form of Śiva or Vishṇu—the main deities of the *Āgamas*. The *Hayaśīrsha-pāñcharātra* as quoted in *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* says that Varuṇa may be regarded as a form of Nārāyaṇa. After several rites connected with the worship of Varuṇa, the *Hayaśīrsha-pāñcharātra* and the *Kāpila-pāñcharātra* enjoin that the image of Varuṇa should be installed otherwise it would accrue no merit to the dedicator and the water of such a reservoir would be undrinkable. Lastly, they describe heavenly pleasures with which the dedicator would be blessed.

(*iii*) *Purāṇic Procedure*:—It consists in the performance of *homa* which requires the construction of a pavilion with portals, *yūpa* and a *vedi* on which images of planets (Navagrahas) guardians of quarters (*Lokapālas*), Brahmā, Śiva, Vishṇu, Vināyaka and Ambikā are to be placed and worshipped. Brāhmaṇas belonging to different *Vedas* are seated in various directions to chant the hymns. Its reward is the obtaining of (a) heavenly pleasure, (b) the abode of Rudra and (c) the highest abode of Vishṇu.

(b) **Procedure as Known from Archaeology:**—A large number of sculptured and inscribed stones meant both as sluice gates to water-cisterns and installation-slabs i.e. *Varuṇa Pratishṭhā* have been found in the Chamba valley. They supply very useful data for knowing the procedure of dedication. Similarly inscriptions set up to record and announce the dedication of water-reservoirs furnish some interesting details.

(*i*) *Vedic Procedure in Archaeology*:—There is no definite archaeological evidence to the prevalence of Vedic procedure during this period.

(*ii*) *Āgamic Procedure*:—This was fairly prevalent. The Nagara Ins. of Dhanika, 741 v.s., begins with a salutation to Varuṇa and describes him as "a form of Śiva (*Śiva-mūrtti*) who infuses life in the unconscious, the helpless, the frightened, the hungry, the traveller and the miserable by supplying life-giving water." To regard Varuṇa as a form of the main deities of the respective schools was an Āgamic feature.

A second peculiarity of the Āgamic procedure is the installation

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

of a Varuṇa image by the side of the water-reservoir without which the excavation would be fruitless and the water undrinkable. In Chamba, several stone-slabs near the dried up water-cisterns containing the images of Varuṇa and inscriptions mentioning the auspicious days and constellations of their installations have been found. These short epigraphs describe the *phalaśruti* also as it occurs in the Āgamic texts.

(*iii*) *Purāṇic Procedure*:—At Sālhi, in the same beautiful Chamba valley, a sculptured and inscribed stone-slab depicts Śeshaśāyī in the centre while the upper row contains in order the images of (1) Gaṇapati, (2) Lokapāla Varuṇa, (3) Lokapāla Īśāna and (4) Lokapāla Indra, while in the middle and lower rows (5) images of eight rivers—(i) Jhelum, (ii) Gaṅgā, (iii) Yamunā, (iv) Sindhu, (v) Satlaj, (vi) Bias and probably of (vii) Rāvī and (viii) Chenāb have been carved.

(*iv*) *Some Purāṇic Features*:—According to the *Devī-purāṇa*, images of associate-deities of Devī should be set up by the side of water-reservoirs. It is, therefore, interesting to note that the Gaṅgadhār Stone Ins. of Viśvavarmman, v.s. 480, records the construction of a temple for the mothers and *ḍākinīs* along with and by the side of a well. Similarly Deogarh Rock Ins. of Svāmībhaṭa set up to commemorate the construction of an abode for the mothers is engraved on a rock-cut flight of steps locally known as Nahar Ghāṭ on the river Betwa. The Ālhā Ghāṭa Ins. of the time of Narasiṁha, v.s. 1216, mentions the installation of an image of Ambikā by the side of a dam at *Shaḍshaḍikāghāṭa*.

In the Purāṇic procedure, river-goddesses are also worshipped. Their installation and worship have been discussed in Chapter 4.

C. TREE-PLANTING

The maintenance of gardens and planting of trees are also *pūrtta* activities. They have been enjoined in the *Sūtras*, *Smṛtis*, *Āgamas* and *Purāṇas*.

Inscriptions reveal the existence of gardens (*udyāna*), mango-groves (*āmra-vana*) and flower-gardens (*pushpa-vāṭikā*) in cities and by the side of temples. Thus, Badaun Ins. of Lakhanapāla compares the city of Vodāmayūtā with the heaven of Indra because "it had the wealth of many excellent flowers of *mandāra* trees

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

. . . and was surrounded by *santāna* and *kalpa* trees".[19] Similarly Tummāna, the capital of the Chedis of Kosala afforded a feast to eyes by "the innumerable fruits and flowers of gardens".[20] The city, by name Ārāma, from where king Mahāśivagupta issued the Sonepura grant, was decorated with temples and gardens.[21] The second Gwalior Ins. of Vallabhabhaṭṭasvāmin dated 933 V.S. records that the town-committee had unanimously resolved to sanction the grant of a piece of land to the temple of nine Durgās for the flower-garden.[22] The Ranod Ins. of Vyomaśiva belonging to the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. mentions that Vyomaśiva, the famous Vaiśeshika scholar, had dedicated a garden by the side of a Śiva temple.[23] The Rewa Ins. of Vapullaka dated K.S. 812 (=1060–61 A.D.) contains a reference to a garden with many kinds of trees and a mango-grove near the temple of Vapullakeśvara.[24] The Ratnapur Ins. of Jājalladeva dated 866 K.S. (=914 A.D.) describes Jājallapura as having monasteries with gardens and mango-groves.[25]

(a) Planning of Gardens in Towns

Scriptures ordain that gardens should be located either to the east or to the north of habitation. That the injunctions of scriptures were adhered to in practice is evidenced by inscriptional data. The Siyadoni Ins. informs us of an *ārāma* dedicated by Dāmodara, the Rāyaka-bhaṭṭa-brāhmaṇa, which was to the east of the town and

---

[19]मन्दारातिव(ब)हु-प्रकृष्ट सुमनः सम्पत्तिसंशोभिता
गन्धर्व्वोत्तमभूषिता परिवृता सन्तानकल्पद्रुमैः ।
या रेजे गुणसंचयैरिव पुरी पौरंदरी सुन्दरी ॥

[20]श्रीवंकेशसुरालयप्रभृतयो रत्नेश्वराद्यस्तथा
यत्रोद्यानमसंख्यपुष्पसुफलं चारूच्चमाम्बरं वनम् ।
तुम्मानः समकारि लोचनसुखः संवीक्ष्यमानो जनैः ॥

[21]रचित विचित्रनाट्टालिकादेवकुलोद्यानवापीकूपतडागोपसो(शो)भाजित सुरपुरमहिम्नः · · · · · श्रीमदारामात् । Sonepur Plates of Mahābhavagupta (II) Janamejaya, *EI*, XXIII, p. 251.

[22]*EI*, I, p. 159.

[23]तस्यायं खलुदेवतायतन्वान् वापीनिवेशः शुभः
सोद्यानः प्रथते स्वकीर्त्तिविभवः साक्षादिवानश्वरः ॥ —*Ibid.*, p. 359.

[24]तस्यानेक स ताम्रां बहुविधविटपं च वाटिका पुरतः । —*MASI*, XXIII, p. 130.

[25]श्री जाजल्लपुरं · · · तापसमठः सोद्यानमाम्रं(माम्रं)वनम् ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

to the north of *Mandākinī*.[26]

(b) **Association of Trees with Gods**

(*i*) *Nimba Tree and Sūrya*:—In the *Purāṇas* and the *Nibandhas*[27], *nimba* is particularly associated with Sūrya. This association finds reference in inscriptions also. The Jainad Ins. of the Paramāra Jagaddeva[28], which begins with a salutation of Sūrya, enjoins the worship of Sūrya on Sunday "with flowers and shoots of a nimba tree". The same inscription mentions Sūrya by the name Nimbāditya whose temple was constructed by Padmāvatī, the wife of Lolārkka. Other inscriptions also mention the name Nimbāditya.[29] The Dholpur Ins. of Chaṇḍasena Chāhamāna, v.s. 894, describes the planting of a number of *nimba* trees in front of a Sūrya temple.[30]

(*ii*) *Association of Bilva and Kovidāra with Śiva*:—Tradition associates these trees with Śiva.[31] The Allahabad Municipal Museum Yūpa Ins. of the second century A.D. contains a reference to *kovidāra* tree by the side of Śiva temple.[32] The Ratanpur Ins. of Pṛthvīdeva describes Śiva as *bilva-pāṇi*.[33]

(*iii*) *Śiva as a Tree*:—Sthāṇu[34], a name of Śiva which according

---

[26]पत्तनात्पूर्वमारामं मदाकिन्या दिगुत्तरम् । ददौ स नित्यपूजार्थन्तस्मै सत्कारासिद्धये ।

[27]निम्बप्ररोपको यस्तु तुष्टो दिवाकरः ।

—*Padmapurāṇa* as quoted by *Dāna-Kṛtyakalpataru*, p. 307.

[28]ओं नमः सूर्याय ॥ अकालेपि रवेर्व्वारे निम्बपुष्पोद्गमैरयं ।
प्रत्ययं पूरयेन्भानुन्निरत्ययमुपास्यताम् ॥ —*EI*, XXII, p. 57.

[29]L. 14 of the Second Gwalior Ins. of Vallabhabhaṭṭasvāmī, dated v.s. 933—*EI*, I, p. 160.

[30]आम्राली निम्बपंक्तिर्वरवा बकुलयुता चम्पकाशिग्रुसज्जाः ।
सज्जाती मल्लिकानां सततकुसुमिताः पंक्तयः चटपदस्थवटपदस्थाः ॥
—*ZDMG*, XL, p. 39.

[31]कोविदारे च बिल्वे च सदा संनिहितः शिवः । —*EI*, XXIV, p. 240, fn. 3.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 241.

[33]चक्रे देवगणो धाम बिल्वपाणि पिनाकिनः । —*EI*, I, p. 48.

Bilva is connected with Sūrya also. The *Āpastamba Ś. S.* (7.1.15) mentions the sacrificial *bilva-yūpa* for acquiring sacred knowledge. Bilva is grown on the spot on which Sūrya is established (*TS*, 2, 1, 8, 1). It is connected with *Śrī* since the times of the Vedas (*RV*, *Śrīsūkta*, V. 6).

[34]The conception of sthāṇu is comparable to Kaṇṭṭali worship.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

to Ross originally meant "a stem" of tree, has been figuratively utilised to describe the creation. Thus, the Jainad Ins. of Paramāra Jagaddeva[35] invokes "*Sthāṇu* i.e. the tree like Śiva, who is indivisible and first born, who possesses grand extension of shade and is lofty and stands firm in the range of wood on the shore of the Vāruṇī (western) ocean, the matchless sprouts of whose branches blossom forth at the time of growing in the shape of three worlds between sky and all its quarters." According to a Purāṇic legend, Vishṇu and Śiva cursed each other and were consequently transformed into *Aśvattha* and banyan trees respectively.[36] The Khajuraho Ins., No. IV, of Dhaṅgadeva, v.s. 1059, begins with a salutation "to Śiva who is a seed of the great banyan tree".

(c) **Yakshiṇī and Śālabhañjikā in Trees:**—Yakshiṇīs are said to dwell in the trees. Banyan is their favourite abode.[37] The Partabgarh Ins. of king Mahendrapāla II, 1003 v.s., mentions a local goddess, *Vaṭa-yakshiṇī*, whose name is indicative of her original character as a *yakshiṇī* living in the banyan tree.

(d) **Trees in Temple Gardens and Tanks:**—Two lists of trees planted in gardens dedicated to temples are found in inscriptions. The Siyadoni Ins.[38] describes the trees of a garden attached to a Vaishṇava temple while the Dholapur Ins. gives a list of trees

---

In South *Kanṭhu* or the stump of tree is worshipped as Śiva. When the tree-stump is withered away, a stow-pillar is put in its place and this pillar is worshipped as Śiva. See G. S. Pillai, *Tree Worship and Ophilatory*, 1945.

[35]तं वन्देमहि वारुणीजलनिधेर्वेला वनालीस्थिर-
स्थानं स्थाणुमभेद्यमाघ्रमितच्छायातिमात्रोच्छ्रयम् ।

[36]उन्मीलन्ति बहिः प्ररोहसमये यस्य त्रिलोकीच्छला-
न्मध्येव्योमदिगन्तरालमतुलाः शाखाशिखापल्लवाः ॥

[37]*Mahāvaṁsa*, X, 89 describes banyan tree as an abode of Kubera *yaksha*. The Besnagar *Kalpadrum*-capital representing banyan tree having below its branches money-bags, a conch, lotus and a jar probably represents Kubera. Coomaraswamy, *Yaksha*, p. 43.

[38]मोरानीपार्जुनाभ्रैर्गगनपरिचितैस्तालमालामधूकै-
न्नारंगया राजजम्बाफलभरनमितैर्दर्दाडिमीमातुलुंगैः ।
जातीनेवालजालैर्विकसित सुमनोमल्लिका मंजरीभिः
पुष्पैर्वन्यप्रधानैः समशनरुचिरैं राजितं वृक्षषण्डैः ॥ —*EI*, I, p. 179.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

planted before a Sūrya temple.[39] The Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha, however, gives a list of aquatic plants in the tank excavated by him.

D. MAṬHAS

Maṭha in the sense of a lodge for students occurs in the *Sūtras*, some of the early lexicons[40] and sometimes also in inscriptions of our age. But *maṭha* as a monastery where an order of ascetics may reside occurs neither in the early *Smṛtis* and nor in the early *Purāṇas*. However, it is mentioned in the *Nibandhas* and some of the late *Purāṇas* indicating thereby that the custom of founding a *maṭha* was assimilated in the *Smārta* tradition later on.

These neo-brāhmaṇical monasteries as annexes to temples owed their origin to the example of the Buddhist *vihāras* attached to the *chaityas* (chapels). It has been averred that the rise of these monasteries in this age was due to the missionary activities of the advaita teacher Śaṅkara.[41] But it seems that they had become a popular feature even before his time and were the result of the Āgamic activities.

(a) **Maṭhas in Literature:**—In early *Smārta* tradition, ascetics are required to wander and not to stay generally more than a day in a village and five days[42] in a town. They were explicitly forbidden to deliver lectures and collect students. The *Pāśupata-sūtras* inform us of a group of Pāśupata ascetics known as "the dwellers in a building" (*āyatanavāsī*). Kauṇḍinya in his bhāshya on the *Sūtras* quotes a verse which enjoined the Pāśupatas to stay in a Śaiva

---

[39]आम्राली निम्बपंक्तिर्बरवा बकुलयुताचम्पकाशिग्रुसज्जाः ।
सज्जाती मल्लिकानां सतत कुसुमिताः पंक्तयः चटपदस्थ वटपदस्थाः ।

[40]*Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (III. 1. 16); *Amarakośa*, 2, 2, 8.
मठा वेदादीनां द्विजपुरविहारा प्रतिदिशं —*EI*, VI, p. 202.

[41]"The foundation of *maṭhas* received a great fillip after the times of the celebrated *advaita* teacher, the great Śaṅkarāchārya." *HD*, II, ii, p. 907.

[42]एक एव चरेन्नित्यं सिध्द्यर्थमसहायवान् । —*Manu*, VI. 42.
See also *Daksha*, VII—एकभिक्षुर्यथोक्तस्तु द्वौ चैव मिथुनं स्मृतम् । त्रयो ग्रामस्तथा ख्यात ऊर्ध्वन्तु नगरायते ।
Regarding collection of student-disciples, Daksha says (VII. 38):
लाभपूजानिमित्तं हि व्याख्यानं शिष्यसंग्रह ।
एते चान्ये च बहवः प्रपंचाः कुतपस्विनाम् ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

temple built in a forest or a village.[43] The *Kāmikāgama*[44], a Śaiva scripture, defines *maṭha* as a lodge with a boarding house and a college for ascetics. The *Kālikāpurāṇa*[45] recommends the construction of a *maṭha* for Śaiva ascetics. The *Pañchatantra*[46] narrates two interesting tales relating to the life of Śaiva ascetics residing in monasteries. Kshīrasvāmī[47], the commentator on *Amarakośa*, defines *maṭha* as a lodge for students, mendicants (*parivrājakas*), Jain monks and Kāpālikas. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa mentions several Śaiva *maṭhas* and describes antics of a Śaiva pontiff by name Vyomaśiva.[48] Thus these *maṭhas* had Āgamic, specially Śaiva association.

---

[43]Commenting upon *āyatanavāsī* (*Pāśupata-sūtra*, I. 7), Kauṇḍinya writes as follows:—

आङ इति मर्यादायां भवति · · · यजनाच्चायतनम् । तस्मिन् परकृते आयतने वास्तव्यमिति वासी इत्यायतनं च परिगृह्णाति । भूप्रदेशे आकाशे वृक्षमूले बहि प्रादक्षिण्येन वा यत्र क्वचित् प्रतिवसन् शिष्टमर्यादया आयतनवासी भवति · · · उक्तं हि ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्य स्थानं हि शूलिनः । आवासो धर्मतृप्तानां सिद्धिक्षेत्रं हि तत् परम् । —*Pāśupata-sūtra*, p. 13.

[44]आगन्तुकानां सर्वेषां नैष्ठिकानां निवासभूः ।
अन्नपानीयसंयुक्तः केवलो वा मठो मतः ।
विद्यास्थानं तु तद्वत् स्यात् । —*Kāmikāgama*, XX, 13, 14; *Dictionary of Hindu Arch. Terms, s.v. maṭha.*

[45]शंकरात् परमं नान्यदतस्तस्मै विकल्पयेत् ।
यतीनामाश्रयं दद्यात् कृत्वा पक्वेष्टकामयम् ।
—*Kālikāpurāṇa* quoted in *Kalpataru, Dānakhaṇḍa*, p. 311.

[46]The *Mitrabheda* narrates the tale of a mendicant (*parivrājaka*) by name Devaśarmman who was a Śaiva. See vv. 178, 179 which he recites:—

शूद्रो वा यदि वान्योऽपि चाण्डालोऽपि जयधरः ।
दीक्षितः शिवमन्त्रेण स भस्मांगः शिवो भवेत् ॥
षडक्षरेण मन्त्रेण पुष्पमेकमपि स्वयम् ।
लिंगस्यमूर्ध्नि यो दद्यान्न स भूयोऽपिऽभिजायते ॥

Mitra-saṁprāpti, Story I, deals with the tale of Tāmrachūḍa monk.

[47]छात्रादि निलयः शिष्यादीनां गृहं मठ इत्युच्यते । छात्रोऽन्तेवास्यादिर्येषां परिव्राजकक्षपणकादीनां तेषां निलय इति वा आदीनाकापालिकादि संग्रहः । बौद्धानान्तु विहारो · · ·

[48]*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 404. Chakravarmman constructed a *maṭha* for Pāśupatas known as *Chakramaṭha* (*Ibid.*, VI. 142). Two *maṭhas* were constructed by Śrīlekha (VII. 298 ff.). An account of Vyomaśiva and his monastery is given in VIII. 244.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(b) **Maṭha in Archaeology:**—This conclusion is fully borne out by archaeological evidence. An early reference to *maṭhas* occurs in the Muṇḍeśvarī Ins. of the time of Udayasena[49] dated in year 30 of an unspecified era where a Virāṭeśvara *maṭha* was established by Daṇḍanāyaka Gomibhaṭa. The Mathurā Pillar Ins. of Chandragupta II, G.S. 61 = 390 A.D., mentions *gurvvāyatana*, i.e. a place where a Pāśupata teacher resided.

Beside general references[50] to the construction of the monasteries along with temples and alms-houses, inscriptions from the seventh century A.D. mention the tradition of the *maṭhas* (*maṭha-paramparā*) in Śaiva schools which would be discussed a little later.

E. REST-HOUSES

Construction of rest-houses—*āvasatha* and *maṇḍapa* is—also mentioned in inscriptions.

(a) **Āvasatha:**—This word occurs in the *Upanishads*,[51] *Smṛtis*,[52] the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Raghuvaṁśā*,[53] *Kādambarī*,[54] *Hitopadeśa*,[55] etc. and

---

[49]There is a controversy regarding the date of the inscription. R. D. Bannerji placed it in the seventh century A.D. while N. G. Majumdar and D. R. Bhandarkar take it as a Gupta epigraph. As name-ending with *īśvara* indicates a Śaiva temple, the monastery attached to Vinīteśvara might have been a Śaiva monastery.

[50]कष्टे काले कलावाप्प(प्य)भिभवति जगत्कूपवापीतडागै
रासन्नारामसत्रैः सुरसदनमठैर्म्मण्डितायाममुष्याम् ॥
—Dewal Praśasti of Lalla, the Chhinda, dated V.S. 1049 (=992 A.D.).

See also Devapaṭṭan Ins. (*EI*, II, p. 440) etc. Hindu *vihāras* have been mentioned in early epigraphs—Pālitānā CP. of Gārulaka Siṁhāditya, Valabhī Saṁvat 255 (=574 A.D.) (*EI*, XI, p. 18); Sonepura CP. of Mahāśivagupta (*JBORS*, II, p. 52) and Svapneśvara Ins. of the time of Anivaṁka-bhīma (*EI*, VI, p. 202).

[51]तस्य त्रय आवसथास्त्रयः स्वप्नाः । —*Ait. Up.*, I, 3, 12.

[52]आसनावसथौ शय्यामनुव्रज्यामुपासनाम् ।
उत्तमेपूत्तमं कुर्याद्धीने हीनं समं समम् ॥ —*Manu*, III, 107.

Kullūka interprets *āvasatha* as a rest-house (Viśrāma-sthāna).

[53]स किलाश्रममन्त्यमाश्रितो निवसन्नावसथे पुराद्हिः । —*Sarga* 8.

[54]स्मृतिशास्त्रेणैव समावसथकूपप्रपारामदेवसदनसेतुयन्त्रप्रवर्तकेन···विलासिजनेनाधिष्ठितां उज्जयिनी नाम नगरी । —*Kādambarī*, para 44.

[55]अस्ति चम्पकाभिधानायां नगर्यां परिव्राजकावसथः । —*Mitra-lābha.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

generally means a dwelling place, though sometimes it is used in the sense of a rest-house for ascetics and others. Inscriptions mention *āvasatha* as a rest-house. Yaśaḥtrāta, the preceptor belonging to the Sāttvata sect, constructed an *āvasatha* and excavated two pools (*kuṇḍas*). Siṁhāditya of the Gārulaka dynasty also constructed an *āvasatha*.[56]

(b) **Maṇḍapa:**—Its meaning as given in lexicons is "a shelter for persons in general".[57] According to the *Mānasāra* a drinking-house is also a variety of *maṇḍapa*.[58] A *maṇḍapa* constructed by the side of Megheśvara temple and a water-reservoir at Bhuvaneśvara has been described as "a fort to give relief to people greatly distressed by summer".[59] The queen Kalyāṇī constructed a *maṇḍapa* and excavated a well at Jayapuradurgga (Mod. Ajaigarh in Vindhya Pradesh).

A maṇḍapa in front of the Sūrya temple and by the side of a pool now known as *Rāmakuṇḍa* at Modhera (Gujarat) belonging to this period is still existing.

F. ALMS-HOUSES

The foundation of alms-house is an early institution and is mentioned in the Kushāṇa[60] and the Kshatrapa[61] inscriptions. It is generally described in inscriptions amongst the *pūrtta*[62] activities performed

---

[56]अनेकदेवतायतनसमाप्रपारामावसथ विहारकारयिता···सामन्त महाराजसिंहादित्य ।
—Pālitānā CP. of the Gārulaka Siṁhāditya, *EI*, XI, p. 18.

[57]*Amarakośa*, II, *Purāvarga*, 9.

[58]भक्तिमान्तथाभित्तिविस्तारं चाप्यलिन्दकम् ।
प्रपागं मण्डपाकारं पंचभेदः क्रमोच्यते ॥२॥ —*Mānasāra*, XXIII, p. 221.

[59]आनन्दैकनिकेतनं नयनयोः स[श]श्वन्मनः कैरव-
ज्योत्स्नौघः खलु विश्वकर्मनिपुण व्यापारवैदग्ध्यम्: ।
ग्रीष्मग्रासमयातिभीतजनता शौटीर्य दुर्गालयो
मार्गः कीर्त्तिविजृम्भणस्य जयिना प्रोत्तम्भितो मण्डपः ॥
—Svapneśvara Ins. of the time of Anivaṁkamalla, *EI*, VI, p. 202.

[60]Mathurā Stone Ins. of Huvishka, ś.E. 28 = 106 A.D., Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[61]Garha (Jasdan) Stone Ins. of Rudrasena I, ś.E. 127 = 205 A.D. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 179. The word *Śānva* has been interpreted variously but probably *Satra* is meant.

[62]Dewal Praśasti of Chhinḍa, *EI*, I, p. 83; *EI*, II, p. 440.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

by kings and sometimes it forms a subsidiary part of a bigger establishment like a monastery or *āśrama*. A record from Assam describes it as a *bhaktaśālā*[63] probably because boiled rice was distributed there.

G. THE SETTLEMENT OF BRĀHMAṆAS (DVIJA-STHĀPANA)

The establishment of learned settlements or cultural colonies known as *agrahāras* or *brahmapurīs* where Brāhmaṇas followed the sacred avocation of research, teaching and study was an early institution and is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[64] and the Gupta epigraphs.[65] The custom was known to Kauṭilya.[66] The *Smṛtis*,[67] *Purāṇas* and digests highly recommend it. It was popular during this age also. The Nidhanpur CP. of Bhāskaravarmman,[68] the Semra CP. of Paramarddideva,[69] the Chandoli CP. of Chandradeva Gahaḍavāla,[70] the Māndhātā CP. of Devavarmman Paramāra[71] etc., record the settlements of hundreds of Brāhmaṇas. King Umāvarmman of Kaliṅga maintained regularly as many as thirty-six *agrahāras*. Names of numerous *agrahāras* occur in inscriptions.

The settling of Brāhmaṇas by providing money for their *saṁskāras* like marriage etc. is also regarded meritorious. It is

---

[63]Assam Plates of Vallabhadeva, v. 13, *EI*, V, pp. 184, 187.

[64]*Vanaparva*, 68, 4. See also *Āśrama-vāsī parva*, 2, 2; 10, 41.

[65]Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 266, 358 etc.

[66]*Arthaśāstra*, II. 1.

[67]वेदविद्याविदो विप्रा श्रोत्रियानग्निहोत्रिणः ।
आहृत्य स्थापयेत्तत्र तेषां वृत्तिः प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
अनाच्छेद्यकरास्तेषां प्रदद्याद्गृह-भूमिकाः ।
मुक्ताभाव्याश्च नृपतिर्लेखयित्वा स्वशासनैः ॥
—*Bṛhaspati* as quoted in *Aparārka*, vide Kane, *HD*, II, ii, p. 858.

[68]The word *Brahmapurī* occurs in the Sasabahu Ins. of the Kachchhapaghāta king Mahipāla:—
समर्पिता ब्रह्मपुरी च तेन शेषान्विधायावनि देवमुख्या ।
प्रवर्त्तितं सत्रमतन्द्रितेन सृष्टान्नपानरतिधार्म्मिकेण ॥७१॥

[69]*EI*, IV.

[70]*Ibid.*, XIV.

[71]*Ibid.*, XXI.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

enjoined in the *Smṛtis*[72] and the *Purāṇas*. Aparārka, Hemādri, and Lakshmīdhara quoting from *Kālikā-purāṇa* dwell over the merits of settling Brāhmaṇas by providing money for their marriage and other household material.[73]

An early inscription (c. 119–24 A.D.) mentions the giving of benefactions for marriages of eight Brāhmaṇa girls. Similarly Dāmodaragupta, the Gupta ruler of the Magadha line, made arrangements for the marriage of several virtuous Brāhmaṇa girls decked with ornaments.[74]

H. TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION AND PŪRTTA

Institution of temple construction is the pivot of the *pūrtta* activities. Inscriptions and literature of our period regard it as an important *Smārta*, or, to be specific, a *pūrtta* activity.[75]

Āgama and Pūrtta:—Temple construction was regarded as a *pūrtta* activity by the Āgamicas also. Thus the Tewar Ins. records the construction of a temple by Bhāva-brahma, the Pāśupata, because "the final liberation of ascetics is achieved by the *pūrtta* activity which is a *nivartaka dharma*". Likewise, the Sasabahu Ins.

---

[72]न तच्छ्रेयोऽग्निहोत्रेण नाग्निष्टोमेन लभ्यते ।
यच्छ्रेयः प्राप्यते पुंसा विप्रेण स्थापितेन तु ॥३१॥
यद्यदिष्टतमं लोके यच्चापि दयितं गृहे ।
तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥३२॥ —*Daksha*, III.

It is mentioned in the *Vanaparva*, 186, 5; Also *Kūrmma-purāṇa*, II, 39, v. 79:

अनाथं दुर्गतं विप्रं नाथवन्तमथापि वा ।
यद्वा गमनं यस्तीर्थे तस्य पुण्यफलं शृणु ॥

[73]कारयित्वा तथोद्वाहं श्रोत्रियाणां कुलेषु च ।
वि ... ... द्विजेष्वेकादशेष्व थ ॥
ततो गृहाणि रम्याणि कुर्यादेकादशैव तु ।
कारयित्वा तु धान्यैश्च विविधैश्च प्रपूरयेत् ॥ —*Kṛtya-kalpataru*, p. 254–55.

[74]गुणवद्द्विजकन्यानां नानालंकारयौवनवतीनाम् ।
परिणायितवान्स नृपः शतं निस्रष्टाग्रहाराणाम् ॥१२॥

A CP. of Śilāhāra prince Gaṇḍarāditya mentions the provision for marriages of sixteen Brāhmaṇa girls.

[75]According to some scholars, it is of Āgamic origin. However, it is beyond any reasonable doubt that this institution was regarded during our period as a *pūrtta* form of the *Smārta* activity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

of the Kachchhapaghāta king Mahīpāla describes the construction of a temple by the King "who thinking fortune to be fickle set his mind on the performance of *pūrtta* activity". Thus it seems that the Āgamicas had also adopted this nomenclature. But it may be noted that these Āgamicas considered *pūrtta* superior to *ishṭa* as the former leads to salvation while the latter brings only pelf, prosperity and pleasure in this or in the next world.

I. DĀNA

Dāna is both *pūrtta* and *ishṭa*. When *dāna* becomes the part of an *ishṭa* it is regarded as *ishṭa*, otherwise it is a *pūrtta*.

(a) **Dāna:**—The theory of *dāna* as the characteristic practice of Kali age[76] is mentioned in the *Smṛtis* and the *Purāṇas*. Inscriptions of this period also make a reference to it.[77] After the seventh century A.D. elaborate sacrifices in Northern India became rare and *dāna* became all-important.

(i) *Dāna in Early Inscriptions*:—The tradition of *dāna* can be traced to much earlier times. Several kinds of *dāna* are mentioned in the Aśokan epigraphs.[78] Donations were given to Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas and persons belonging to other sects. For these donations *dāna-gṛha* (Donation Halls) were established and *Dāna-mahāmātras* (Ministers in-charge of donations) were appointed.[79] "By giving *dhamma-dāna* this world becomes secure and unabounded merit accrues in heaven", declared Aśoka, the Priyadarśī.[80] The Scythians and the Kushāṇas had given liberal benefections to the Sarvāstivādins.[81] *Dāna-patis*, *Horamūrta* or *Hora-muruṇḍas* were placed in charge of donations.[82] The Sātavāhanas and the Scythians of Mahārāshṭra and Saurāshṭra made generous gifts to the Brāhmaṇas many of which are highly extolled in the Purāṇas.[83]

---

[76] *Manu*, I, 86; *Pārāśara*, I, 23; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, VIII, 65.

[77] न तथा सफला विद्या न तथा सफलं धनम् ।
यथा तु मुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौयुगे ।। —*EI*, II, p. 219.

[78] *RE*, VIII, l. 3; IX, l. 5 (Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29).

[79] *RE*, V, Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[80] *RE*, XI, Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33.

[81] Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[82] *CII*, II, p. 149.

[83] Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

The tradition was continued under the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas.[84] The Hāthigumpha Ins. of Khāravela mentions gifts made to the *arhats* and the Brāhmaṇas. Literatures of all the three sects recognise *dāna* as an important religious practice.

(ii) *Dāna in Early Medieval Inscriptions*:—During our period the tradition of *dāna* continued with added vigour. Epigraphs describe the royal donor in the most exaggerated language. Through the grace of Vijayasena, the Sena king, says the court-poet,[85] "the Brāhmaṇas became so rich that their wives have to be trained by the wives of the town-people to recognise pearls, pieces of emeralds, silver coins, jewels, and gold from their similarity respectively with seeds of cotton, leaves of śāka, bottle-gourd flowers, the flowers of the pumpkin-gourd and the developed seeds of pomegranates." A mere glance from Keśavasena could turn the water vessels of the Brāhmaṇas made of iron into gold.[86] Even a poet confessed his inability in describing the liberalities of Chandradeva Gahaḍavāla, by the sound produced from whose copper-plate grants given to Brāhmaṇas and divinities at the time of being engraved with rows of closely written lines, universe had become deaf.[87]

(b) **Mahādāna:**—The development of the *mahādānas* is an important feature of this period. Though the Purāṇic literature on the topic may not be earlier than the 6th–7th centuries A.D., the word *mahādāna* occurs in the *Mahābhārata*[88] and *Śilpaddikāram*.[89] Some of the donations made by the early kings may fall under this category. Though it is too daring to interpret '*kaparukha*' occurring

---

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 206 ff.

[85] मुक्ताकार्प्पासबीजैम्मरकतशकलं शाकपत्रैरलाबू
पुष्पैं रूप्याणि रत्नं परिणतिभिर्दुरैर्कुक्षिभिर्द्दाडिमानाम् ।
कूष्माण्डी वल्लरीणां विकसितकुसुमैः कांचनं नागरीभिः ।
शिक्ष्यन्ते यत्प्रसादाद्बहुविभवजुषां योषितः श्रोत्रियाणाम् ॥ —*IB*, III, p. 48.

[86] दृष्टिस्पर्शमवाप्य विश्वजयिनो यस्य द्विजानां पयः ।
पात्रैर्लोहमयैर्हिरण्यपदवी प्राप्तेति को विस्मयः । —*IB*, III, p. 123.

[87] किं तस्य चन्द्रनृपते ब्रुवत वर्णु(र्ण)यामो
यस्य द्विजेन्द्रसुरणासनताम्रपट्टैः ।
उत्कीर्य्यमाण निविडाक्षरपंक्तिजाल
वाचालितैर्व्वधिरभावमियाय विश्वम् ॥ —*EI*, XIV, p. 193 ff.

[88] *Āśrama-vāsī*, III, 31.

[89] *Śilapaddikāram*, p. 311.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

in the Hāthigumpha Ins. in the sense of *Kalpavṛksha-mahādāna*, yet references to *gosahasra* are many. The Sātavāhanas, the Guptas[90] and the Ikshvākus[91] gave thousands of cows. The *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* may be traced back to the fourth cent. A.D. It was performed by Attivarmman and Dāmodaravarmman (c. 400 A.D.) of the Ānanda dynasty, Maṅgaleśa (c. 600 A.D.) of the Chālukya line and Mādhavavarmman of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty.[92] Dantidurgga, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, also celebrated the *mahādāna* at Ujjayinī.[93] Govind IV and Indrarāja III, the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of Deccan,[94] Vilāsadevī, the chief-queen of Vijayasena[95], Yaśaḥkarṇa, the Chedi king,[96] Jayapāla, the king of Kāmarūpa,[97] Jayachandra Gahaḍavāla[98] and Mahīpāla Kachchhapaghāta,[99] celebrated *tulāpurusha* while Chandradeva Gahaḍavāla performed *gosahasra*[100] and *tulāpurusha*. Lakshmaṇasena[101] and his grand-mother Vilāsadevī celebrated *hemāśvaratha-mahādāna*.[102] The Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas and the rulers of Vijayanagara kingdom gave several of these *mahādānas*. In Northern India the tradition seems to have continued even to the 17th century A.D. as *kalpalatā*, *gosahasra* and *hiraṇyāśva mahādānas* were performed several times by Jagatsiṁha, the king of Udayapura.[103]

---

[90]न्यायागतानेकहिरण्यकोटिगोप्रदस्य is a constant epithet of Samudragupta. But it occurs probably by mistake as an adjective of Chandragupta II in the Poona CP. of Prabhāvatī.

[91]अनेकहिरनकोटि गोसतसहसहलसतसहसपदायिस ।

[92]*Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 50–54.

[93]हिरण्यगर्भ राजन्यैरुज्जयिन्यां यदासितम् ।
प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम् ॥ —*EI*, XVIII, p. 243.

[94]*EI*, VII, p. 26; XI, p. 20.

[95]*BI*, III, p. 63, *l.* 41. The Bhatra CP. of Īśānadeva mentions the celebration of *tulāpurusha* by Keśavadeva, *EI*, XIX, p. 277 ff.

[96]महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः ।
गरिम्णा मेरुरत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योकृतार्थिनः ॥२१॥ —*EI*, II, pp. 1–7.

[97]यः कामरूपनृपतेर्जयपालनाम्नः तुलापुरुषदातुरचिन्त्यनाम्नः ॥२२॥ —*EI*, XIII, p. 292.

[98]*EI*, IV, p. 126, *l.* 22.

[99]*IA*, XV, p. 36 ff.

[100]श्रीमदादिकेशवदक्षिणमूर्त्तौ तुलापुरुषगोसहस्रमहादानसमनन्तरम् ।
—*EI*, XIV, p. 197 ff.

[101]*IB*, III, p. 192, *l.* 46.

[102]*IB*, III, p. 74, *l.* 52.

[103]*EI*, XXIV, p. 65 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Thus these *mahādānas* become popular only from the 8th cent. A.D., the period since when elaborate sacrifices went out of vogue in Northern India although some of them were sporadically performed from the 4th cent. A.D.[104]

(c) **Bhūmi-dāna:**—In our period *Bhūmidāna* was very popular. Epigraphs from the 5th cent. A.D. contain eulogies of land-grants with all the Purāṇic devices. Gradually these eulogies became elaborate and from the 9th cent. A.D. they record merits of *dāna* in the most extravagant language. The Aśokan epigraphs[105] mention that unabounded merit would accrue from *dāna*. The Gupta epigraphs record that a person donating land would reside in heaven for sixty thousand years.[106] They further allude to ancient Purāṇic kings like Sagara who made extensive donations. The donor of even a small piece of land, it is said, is absolved from all sins. Usually dialogue of Yudhishṭhira has been thrown in by way of make-weight.

Later on gifts of cows, gold[107] and land were said to secure all the three worlds. From 900 A.D. beautiful pictures of heaven where donors would go after their death are given in inscriptions. Couch, comfortable seats, parasol, fine horses and beautiful elephants—all kingly paraphernalia will be available in heaven to the donor of land. He would attain that region where there are golden palaces, where desires are satisfied by mere willing and where beautiful gandharvas and nymphs reside.[108] For as many years as there are hair on the body of a cow, a land-donor would reside in heaven.[109] A person giving land to a deserving man on an auspicious occasion

---

[104] *EI*, VII, p. 17.

[105] *RE*, XI, Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

[106] षष्टिं वर्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः ।
—Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।
—*Loc. cit.*
पूर्वा दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ॥
—*Ibid.*, p. 287.

[107] शंखोभद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वाः वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतेत्पुरन्दर ॥
—*EI*, II, p. 205 ff. v. 38; also *EI*, VII, p. 93; X, p. 69; XIV, p. 15; XX, p. 131.

This is from *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*, v. 15; see Kane, *HD*, II, p. 1275.

[108] *EI*, XX, p. 131.

[109] यावन्ति सस्यमूलानि गोरोमाणि च संख्यया ।
नरस्तावन्ति वर्षाणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥
—*EI*, XI, pp. 312–313; XII, p. 205.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

and at a sacred place would easily cross the ocean of existence.[110] He also delivers his departed forefathers. "There is born a giver of land in our line, he will be our saviour (thinking this) departed fathers clap and grand-fathers jump with joy".[111]

(d) **Quotation of Verses in Epigraphs Regarding Merits of Dāna:**—These verses of *abhyarthanā* (requests) have been quoted mostly from the ancient texts, but their extant versions usually do not contain them. Sometimes a single verse has been attributed to different authorities in different inscriptions and the language of verses also greatly varies. They, therefore, seem to be floating verses although majority of them has been traced in the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* and later *Smṛtis*. The inscriptions mostly quote the *Mahābhārata*, sometimes the *Manusmṛti*, the *Purāṇas* in general and the *Śiva-purāṇa* in particular and a number of *Smṛtis* like the *Pārāśara*, *Vatsa*, *Āṅgiras*, *Gautama* and *Yājñavalkya*. It may, therefore, be said in general that these works were regarded as authorities on the subject of *dāna* during our period and that they gave an impetus to the tendency of giving benefactions. The *Smṛti* chapters of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Śiva-purāṇa* in particular encouraged this movement.

(e) **Occasions for Giving Grants:**—Land grants of the Gupta period were generally given to the Brāhmaṇas for some specific purpose and not necessarily on sacred days. Later on, grants were made on solar and lunar eclipses, *ayana days*, *Uttarāyaṇa*, *Dākshiṇāyana*, *Vishṇupadi*, *Kumbha Saṁkrāntis*, equinoctial days, Jupiter's entrance into the sign of *Vṛshabha*, *Manvādi* and holy days like *Mahākārtikī*, *Rathasaptamī*, *Devotthānī Ekādaśī*, *Pavitrakaparva*, *Mahā-vaiśākhī*, full moon days of Vaiśākha and Māgha, *Akshaya tṛtiyā*, *Mahāchaturdaśī*, and on the occasion of *Saṁskāras* e.g. *Jātakarma*, *Nāmakaraṇa*, *Dīkshā*, annual *Śrāddhas*, periodical *Śrāddhas* and at the time of *Śāntiri* tes and *Homa*, *Kṛshṇa-janma*, *Śivarātrī* etc. It is to be noted that donations on holy days which were mostly connected with the vows (*vratas*) became frequent only from c. 1000 A.D. Some of the earlier *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* prescribe giving of benefactions on these days after keeping fast. Earlier

---

[110]भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सुतीर्थेषु सुपर्वसु ।
अगाधपारसंसार सागरोत्तरणं भवेत् ॥ —*EI*, II, p. 219.

[111]आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः ।
भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ —*EI*, III, p. 73.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Smṛtis and the *Mahābhārata* mention *ayana* days and eclipses as the occasions for making grants.

PAÑCHADEVOPĀSANĀ

The later *Smārta* treatises[112] prescribe the daily worship of Five Deities for a householder. These five deities are—Śiva, Vishṇu, Śakti, Sūrya and Gaṇapati. It is sometimes stated that the cult in this form was popularised by the advaita teacher Śaṅkara;[113] but that is extremely doubtful.

The first stage in the development of the pentad cult was the evolution of the trinity composed by Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva.

A. THE TRINITY (TRIDEVA)

(a) **Association of Śiva and Vishṇu:**—In the beginning we find the association of two great gods, Śiva and Vishṇu, who came to be worshipped together. A late inscription from Kāmarūpa describing the king as a devout worshipper of both Śiva and Vishṇu seems to have preserved an echo of earlier times.[114] A wish has been expressed in a Chamba inscription that the dedicator of a fountain-slab (*dvārībandha*) may attain the regions of both Śiva and Vishṇu. The Bhandaka CP. of Kṛshṇarāja I[115], Ś.E. 694 (=772 A.D.), is the earliest in the series to invoke Śiva and Vishṇu in a single verse by way of benediction. The Nagpur Ins.[116] of V.S. 1161 (=1104 A.D.) addresses Śiva and Vishṇu together in an interesting way. Śiva and Vishṇu form a peculiar combination, the inscription says, as they are passionless and passionate, clad in tiger-skin and costly garments, garlanded with the strings of human skulls and flower-wreaths, decked with serpents and pearl-strings and smeared with

---

[112]आदित्यमम्बिकां विष्णुं गणनाथं महेश्वरम् ।
पंचयज्ञपरो नित्यं गृहस्थः पंच पूजयेत् ॥ —*Smṛti-muktāphala*, p. 384.

[113]*HD*, II, ii, p. 717.

[114]*EI*, II, p. 353, *l.* 48.

[115]*EI*, XIV, p. 121.

[116]वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरो मालां च माल्यानि च
व्याघ्रानेकचर्म्मणी च वसने चाहींश्च हारादि च ।
यद्भूतिं च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च
तादृश्याद्भूपमुमारमारमणयो मुक्तिं च भुक्तिं च वः । —*EI*, II, p. 183 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

ashes and anointed with perfumes. The Madhainagar CP. of Lakshmaṇasena prays "Śiva who sustained Hari in his most peculiar body."[117] Syncretic form composed by combining Śiva and Vishṇu in one image called Harihara or Kṛshṇa-Śaṅkara also indicates the fusion. Several such images have been found. A further development of this Harihara form is the Pradyumneśvara motif in which Śiva, Pārvatī, Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa are carved on both the sides of statue to combine (a) *Harihara*, (b) *Lakshmīnārāyaṇa* and (c) *Umā-Maheśvara* forms. We know that such a syncretic image was installed in the sanctum of the Pradyumneśvara temple built by Vijayasena of Bengal.[118]

(b) **Vishṇu and Brahmā:**—The Kachhapaghāta king Vīrasiṁha is styled as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu and a great *Brahmaṇya*.[119] This association is attested by a peculiar image representing Brahmā and Vishṇu together having one body.[120]

(c) **Śiva and Brahmā:**—Similarly titles like *parama-brahmaṇya parama-māheśvara*[121] i.e. a devout worshipper of both Śiva and Brahmā, *parama-māheśvara-mahā-brahmaṇya*,[122] and *parama-māheśvarāti-brahmaṇya*[123] indicate worshipper of Śiva and Brahmā both. The Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha reveals the existence of a sect which was devoted to the worship of Śiva and Brahmā together.[124] Some

---

[117]*BI*, III.

[118]'Pradyumneśvara Motif in Sena Period', *JASB*, 1956; *IB*, III, p. 46, v. 2.

[119]*JAOS*, VI, pp. 542–47; see also, Pāṇḍukeśvara CP. of A.D. 853, *IA*, XXV, p. 178.

[120]*HBD*, I, p. 48, pl. I.

[121]Sungala CP. of Vidagdha, *AC*, p. 166.

[122]Rewa CP. Ins. of Mahārāṇaka Kīrttivarmman, *IA*, XVII, p. 225 ff.

[123]Nirmand CP. Ins. of Mahārāja Samudrasena, *CII*, III, p. 286 ff.

[124]The verse transcribed by R. D. Banerji is as

ब्रह्मणो-शानवादिना वेदतत्पा(वा)र्थं योगिना ।
निस्तीर्ण्णीनि पाषण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरपि ॥३२॥

Firstly adjectives in singular *brahmaṇośānavādinā* etc. cannot qualify the noun *māṇavaka* in plural and secondly there cannot be any gap between Brahmaṇa and Śāna because the eight letters of *anushṭubh* are already complete. I would, therefore, correct the verse

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Chedi inscriptions salute Brahmā in the beginning immediately followed by an invocation to Śiva while others invoke Śiva in the form of Brahmā as the creator of the universe and the reciter of the Vedas. This would corroborate the conclusion stated above.

(d) **Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva:**—The Karitalai Ins. of Lakshmaṇarāja, K.S. 593, opens with an invocation to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva.[125] The Kulait CP. Ins. of Somavarman[126] describes the King Sālavāhana as a devout worshipper of Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā. The Māndhātā CP. of Devapāla Paramāra V.S. 1255,[127] invokes the trinity as Kaiśa i.e. Brahmā-prajāpati, Śiva and Vishṇu combined. Kaiśa (Ka = Brahmā; E = Vishṇu and Īśa = Śiva) has been described as "resembling severally the water-lily, the black-bee, and the Kāśa grass having respectively for weapons a menacing utterance (*huṁkāra*), a discus and the *pināka* moving on a bird (swan), a bird (garuḍa) and bull and residing in a lotus, water and mountain". Such combined images in the Harihara-pitāmaha, Dattātreya and Kaiśa[128] forms have been found in large numbers.

The temple with three sanctums for the Trinity—Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā—having one *maṇḍapa* like one at Kesari in Gujarat[129] displays the close association of three gods. Inscriptions mention the construction of similar temples in other parts of the country.[130]

(e) **Sūrya, Brahmā and Vishṇu** formed another triad. The copper plates of Viśvarūpasena, who was a devout worshipper of Sūrya open with a salutation to Śrī-Nārāyaṇa followed by an invocation

---

as:—

ब्रह्मणो[णे]शानवादिना वेदतत्पा(वा)र्थं योगिना ।
निस्तीर्ण्णानि पाषण्डानि यत्न माणवकैर केनाऽपि ॥

The phrase '*brahmaṇeśānavādinā*' would mean a follower of the sect devoted to *Brahmā* and *Īśāna* (*Śiva*).

[125]ओं नमोस्तु द्रहिणोपेन्द्ररुद्रेभ्यः । *l.* 1.

[126]*AC*, p. 184.

[127]कैशः कज्जालिकाशाभा हुंकारारि पिनाकिनः ।
विविगो गतयो दधुः संवोम्बु जाटुं वोम्बु (जाम्बु) नगौकसः ॥३॥ —*IA*, XX, p. 310.

[128]*Kaiśa* is identical with the *Hariharapitāmaha* form of the *Rūpamaṇḍana* but is different from the Harihara-pitāmaha form described in the *EHI*, I, i, pp. 252–53.

[129]*Arch. of Gujarat*, p. 81.

[130]The Salotgi Pillar Ins. (c) discloses the existence of a temple for *Trayīpurusha*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

to Sūrya. It was authenticated by *Sadāśivamudrā*.[131] The Gahaḍavāla inscriptions record the worship of this triad at the ceremony of gifts.[132] A temple for the joint-worship of Śaṅkara, Vishṇu and Bhāskara existed at Kargudri in Deccan.[133]

B. THE QUADRUMVIRATE

The inclusion of Sūrya in the trinity formed this quadrumvirate. Images combining Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya in one body have been found at Kiradu,[134] Pavagarh,[135] Khajuraho,[136] Gujarat,[137] Kālañjara,[138] and elsewhere.[139] But it may be noted that no temple in India dedicated to the worship of these four deities together has been found.

Ancient temples which are termed as *Pañchāyatana* really group the shrines for four gods—Śiva, Vishṇu, Śakti, and Sūrya. The Rewa Ins. of Vappullaka records the construction of a *Śiva-pañchāyatana*[140] form of temple in which four shrines were built for

---

[131] *IB*, III, pp. 133–134.

[132] सूर्य्यभट्टारकं संपूज्य भगवन्तं महेश्वरं रामभ्यर्च्य विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं समाराध्य ।
—*EI*, II, p. 359 ff.

[133] *IA*, X, p. 25.

[134] *ASI*, *WC*, 1907–08, p. 41.

[135] *ASI*, *WC*, 1912, p. 48.

[136] This has been termed as *Harihara-Hiraṇyagarbha* in *Aparājita-Pṛchchhā*, p. 546. *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati*, III, 27–30 names it *Sadāśiva*. It is regarded as a form of Sūrya in the *Mark. P.*, CIX, *V.* 71. See also *JISOA*, XVI, p. 87. At Khajuraho several such images have been found e.g. on the Eastern wall of the S.E. subsidiary shrine in the Lakshmaṇa temple, and in the Dūlādeo temple (see *Hindu Temples*, II, pl. VI).

[137] Lamboji Mātā temple at Delmal, *Arch. of Gujarat*, p. 163.

[138] Near Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Kālañjara Fort.

[139] H. Krishna Sastri, South Indian Gods and Goddesses, fig. 144.

[140] पंचायतनं शिवस्य । —*l.* 18.
पार्श्वेदेवकुली-चतुष्ट(य)युतस्तासुक्रमाद्देवताः ।
ईशाने ··· ··· य लक्ष्मी संभारासना ।
—*l.* 14 and 15, *MASI*, XXIII, p. 130 ff.
The side temples of the different gods were situated on the four

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

four gods on the sides. The record, however, is mutilated and gives the name of Vishṇu alone who was installed in a subsidiary shrine as Lakshmī-nārāyaṇa. The Brahmeśvara Temple Ins. of Kolāvatī likewise mentions the construction of four subsidiary shrines by the side of the main temple.[141] It, however, does not describe the gods in subsidiary shrines.

The *Pañchāyatana* temples of our period have been found at Osia, Khajuraho,[142] Bhuvaneśvara[143] and Kashmir.[144] The *Vishṇu-Pañchāyatana* temples at Khajuraho and Osia have Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya and Vishṇu in the four subsidiary shrines grouped around the main shrine. The Kashmir temple belonged to another category. Thus this was another form of quadrumvirate formed by the substitution of Brahmā by Śakti.

C. PAÑCHADEVA

The Kulait CP. of Somavarmman[145] of the middle of the eleventh century A.D. invokes five deities—Brahmā, Gaṇapati, Vishṇu, Śakti

---

sides in a definite order—*kramād*. The concluding portion of the mutilated line is *Lakshmī-sambhārāsanā* which would indicate that of the four at least one was Vishṇu.

[141]एकाम्रेसिद्धतीर्थे चतुरमरकुली चारुशालासमेतः।
कोलावत्यातयैषः क्षितिमुकुटनिभः कारितः कीत्तिराजः ॥१२॥
—*JASB*, 1838, pp. 557–62.

[142]It is stated on the basis of personal study of the temples.

[143]N. N. Ganguli, *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 333–342.

[144]*ASI, AR*, 1913–14, p. 40 ff.

[145]जयति भुवनकारणं स्वयम्भुः जयति पुरन्दरनन्दनो मुरारिः।
जयति गिरिसुतानिरुद्धदेहो दुरितापहरोहरश्च देवः ॥

'*Girisutā*' in second line may be construed (i) with *niruddhadeha* which would mean Śiva whose body has been appropriated by the daughter of the mountain, or (ii) separately to mean that "the goddess Pārvatī be victorious along with Śiva who has controlled his senses (lit. body)". Anyway, the sense would be that Pārvatī and Śiva be victorious either separately or in the composite form.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

and Śiva. But this pentad is not of the Smārta variety as Sūrya has been substituted here by Brahmā.

The evidence for the *Smārta* group of the five deities comes from the liṅgas[146] of the concluding part of our period representing the four sectarian deities—Vishṇu, Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya on four sides. Similarly, the miniature shrines representing these five sectarian deities in the sancta and around furnish testimony for the prevalence of this cult in early and late medieval period. It may, therefore, be concluded that the cult of the five deities as envisaged by the *Smārtas* came into vogue by the end of our period and that it indicates the rapprochement of the Vedic and Āgamic tendencies.

D. THE GUARDIANS OF QUARTERS (LOKAPĀLAS)

The worship of four, eight or ten Lokapālas is performed in several *Smārta* ceremonies.[147] These Lokapālas were influential deities in the Vedic period but reduced later on to the status of Lokapālas.[148] These deities are mentioned in the Āndhra[149] and Gupta epigraphs.[150] The Abhona CP. of Śaṅkaragaṇa, K.S. 347, describes the might of the king as equal to that of the four Lokapālas—Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Yama.

As temple is symbolical representation of the universe with the god in the sanctum as the prime mover, Guardians of Quarters are placed around the sanctum in their respective directions. This was a regular feature in our age from the very beginning. Temples at

---

[146]*Introducing India*, p. 20.

[147]On the occasion of the installation ceremony and the Great Gifts, *dikpati-yāga* is performed. *HD*, II, pp. 871–873, 899.

[148]See *ante*.

[149]यमवरुनकुबेरवासवानं, *l.* 1, Nānāghat Ins. of Nāganikā, Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 187. But in this inscription Indra and Yama have been mentioned separately also.

[150]धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमस्य, *l.* 26, Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 259; धनदान्तक तुष्टिकोप, *l.* 9, Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Osia,[151] Khajuraho[152] and Bhuvaneśvara[153] contain the images of these deities around the sancta.

(A) **Indra:**—He is generally mentioned in inscriptions as a king of the gods and rarely as a Lokapāla. According to the Māndhātā Plates of Devapāla, there is no difference between Devapāla the ruler of Mālavā and Devapāla the king of gods as the former always has *pavitra* (Kuśa grass) in hand to hold water of *saṁkalpa* in *dāna* (gifts) ceremony and the latter holds *pavitra* (*argha*-vessel) to give libation of water to Vishṇu who is enemy of *dānavas*.[154] He is depicted as a royal personage enjoying the celestial music of the nymphs and *gandharvas* in heaven.[155] All the same he has been subordinated to the main Āgamic deities—Śiva and Vishṇu. Inscriptions describe him as gracing the occasion of sacrifices or *homas*.[156]

(B) **Kubera:**—Inscriptions not only mention Kubera as a Lokapāla but also reveal the existence of Kubera cult. The Sakrai (Shekha-

---

[151]Temples from 700–900 A.D. have the images of Dikpālas at Osia. Temples No. I, II, IV, VI, VII, XI have Dikpālas, *ASI, AR*, 1908–09; p. 101 ff.

[152]Practically all the major temples at Khajuraho have got the images of Dikpālas. The temples listed below have been studied by us personally, as a detailed account of all the temples at Khajuraho is not published: 1. Lakshmaṇa, 2. Viśvanātha, 3. Chitragupta, 4. Kandarīyā, 5. Devī Jagadambī, 6. Ādinātha, 7. Jatakari, 8. Jarori, 9. Vāmana, 10. Pārśvanātha, 11. Dūlādeva. All these temples have Dikpāla images.

[153]For Bhuvaneśvara temples see *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 170–173. "Out of the eight Dikpālas four preside over the cardinal points of the compass and these four with the rest are arranged according to a regular system . . . . I did not notice the least deviation anywhere." *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[154]पवित्रकरपद्मस्य दानवारिविजृम्भितैः । न विद्मो देवपालस्य देवपालस्य चान्तरम् ॥२२॥
—*EI*, IX, p. 109.

[155]देवोद्यानगतेन्द्र-संसदि मुदा गन्धर्वविद्याधरै-
रानन्दाय च धूर्जटे श्लथयता वाधादरं नन्दिना ।
लीलालोलित-मौलिना कर वलद्वल्गेन यस्योच्चकै-
र्भास्वत्सारथिना तथा प्रतितपः शश्वद्यशोगीयते ॥८॥ —*EI*, XXI, p. 150.

[156]मखाहूत-सुनाशीरवाह्याम्भोदविभ्रमम् । —*EI*, XXII, p. 154.
जन्माकारि कृतात्मनः क्रतुगुणेष्वाहूत वृत्रद्विषः ॥ —*EI*, XIV, p. 116.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

vati) Ins. dated v.s. 879[157] invokes the blessings of Gaṇapati, Chaṇḍikā and Kubera in the beginning by way of benediction. There is a shrine at Osia where this image is installed in the sanctum.[158] It seems that the cult of Kubera, the existence of which is known from the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, an oral tradition current in Khotan[159] and several early seals found in the country, was prevalent in Western India as late as the ninth century A.D.[160] He was popularly remembered as a god of riches. The Arthuna Ins. of the time of Vijayarāja,[161] v.s. 1166, describes Būshaṇa as Kubera in riches. The Vasantagadh Ins. of Vanamāla, v.s. 682,[162] remarks that the king had become as if a Kubera because of the exuberant gifts that he made.

(C) **Varuṇa:**—As a presiding deity of water Varuṇa received worship at the time of dedication of water-reservoir. The Nagar Ins. of Dhanika of the Guhila dynasty of Chāṭsu, 741 v.s. (= 684 A.D.), which records the dedication of a step-well, begins with an invocation and salutation to this deity.[163] Several fountain-slabs bearing the images and containing inscriptions of salutation of Varuṇa have been found in the Chamba valley. The Tippera CP. of Lokanātha, of 44th year, mentions Varuṇa as a Yaksha.[164] The Panahera Ins. of Jayasiṁhadeva of Mālavā, v.s. 1116, mentions a temple of Varuṇeśvarī by the side of a tank.[165] The step-well has been regarded as the manifestation of Kuṇḍalinī (i.e. of Varuṇa), the great energy-force respected even by gods.[166]

---

[157]*PRAS, WC*, 1909–10, p. 56.

[158]*ASI, AR*, 1908–09, p. 107.

[159]A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 161.

[160]J. N. Banerji, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 210–11.

[161]*EI*, XII, p. 53, *l.* 14.

[162]ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादि कलावत्सु विशेषतः ।
सोधिकं द्रविणै(णं)दत्वा शश्ववटे (शश्वद्) वैश्रवणायते ॥ —*EI*, IX, p. 192.

[163]ओं नमः वरुणाय—*l.* 1.

[164]*EI*, XV, p. 307.

[165]*EI*, XXI, p. 49, v. 47.

[166]जयति जगत्त्रय जननी कुण्डि(ड)लिनी नामतः पराशक्तिः ।
सुरनखानन्दितचरणा वापीरूपात्मना सततम् ॥२॥ —*EI*, IV, p. 298–99.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CONCLUSION

Thus, the later *Smārta* religion was composed of two traditions—Vedic and Āgamic. The *ishṭa* activities are in the Vedic tradition while in the *pūrtta* activities great influence of the *Āgamas* is clearly perceptible. The *Āgamic* procedure of the dedication of water-reservoirs was the order of the day. The Vedic maṭhas were substituted by the monasteries of *Āgamic* ascetics. Tree-planting clearly betrays *Āgamic* influence. Last but not the least was the cult of the *Pañchadevopāsanā* in which the main deities of the five *Āgamic* sects were worshipped while Vedic gods were reduced to the state of the Lokapālas. It is also obvious from the above discussion that the Vedic set-up received rude shocks at the hands of foreigners which resulted in the growth of the *Smārta* religion.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Chapter 4

TĪRTHAS, THE CENTRES OF CULTURAL RADIATION

The concept of holy land—Brahmaṛshi-deśa, Brahmāvarta and others—gradually faded away giving place to certain important centres, which radiated far and wide the message of the new composite culture of the Smārtas. Towards the end of the early medieval age, in northern India Kāśī, Prayāga and Gayā, commonly known as *tri-sthalī* gained paramount importance, though a large number of sacred places scattered throughout the country were also serving in a limited fashion as centres of dissemination of the Smārta culture.

The custom of visiting holy places may be traced back to the Vedic times.[1] But during this age it became immensely popular. Kings, ascetics and householders used to go on pilgrimages. Pāla,[2] Chedi[3] and Śilāhāra[4] rulers visited sacred places. Gauḍa Bṛhaspati,[5] Vimalaśiva,[6] Tripurāntaka,[7] Gopāladeva and others travelled throughout the country visiting holy places.

Innumerable *tīrthas* have been mentioned in the Purāṇas. Towards the conclusion of this period, *tri-sthalī*—Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā—were considered as the holiest of the *tīrthas*. In the early medieval period, however, neither the concept of the twelve *Jyotirliṅgas* nor the tradition of the seven cities could emerge.

An analysis of the different versions of the deprecatory formula in the Karṇāṭaka records helps us in understanding the relative

---

[1]Kane, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 555–560.

[2]केदारे विधिनोपयुक्तपयसां गंगासमेताम्बुधौ
गोकर्णादिषु चाप्यनुष्ठितवतां तीर्थेषु धर्म्याः क्रियाः । —*EI*, XVIII.

[3]*MASI*, XXIII, p. 122 ff.; *EI*, I, p. 254.

[4]*IA*, IX, p. 34.

[5]*EI*, I, pp. 186–187.

[6]*Ibid.*, I, p. 184.

[7]*Ins. of CP. and Berar*, p. 169.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

importance of holy places in and after the seventh century.[8] Vārāṇasī, Kurukshetra and Prayāga were the holiest places while *Arghya-tīrtha* and Gayā occupied respectively the fourth and fifth positions; Kedāra, Śrīśaila and Gaṅgā-sāgar ranked after them.

Twelve Jyotirliṅgas:—The list of the twelve *Jyotirliṅgas* was probably formulated after this period.[9] Previous to it, the Five Liṅgas (*pañcha-liṅgas*)—Avimukta, Kedāra, Oṁkāra, Amara and Mahākāla—were held in veneration. The conception of 'Śaiva Lustre' (*Śaiva-jyoti*) was developed before the eleventh century A.D.

Inscriptions do not contain any reference to the list of seven sacred cities.

1. KĀŚĪ

(a) Importance of Kāśī as a Tīrtha:—Even before the beginning of

---

[8]Different forms of the formula are as follows:—

ई धर्म्ममं प्रतिपाड़ि सिद्धवर्गे गंगे वाराणसी[1] कुरुक्षेत्र[2] प्रयागेयेम्ब[3] पुण्यतीर्थ स्थानंगलोल सासिर कवि ले य कोडु कोलगुमं पंचरत्नडोलकद्दिसि वेदपारगरप्प महाब्राह्मणग्गे दानं गेयड फल · · · etc.

—Monitagi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI, 1124 A.D., *EI*, XVIII, p. 118;

—Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I, 1055 A.D., *EI*, XV, p. 85.

ई धर्म्ममं प्रतिपालिसिदंगे वाराणसी[1] कुरुक्षेत्र[2] प्रयागेयार्घ्यंतीर्थ[3] · · ·

—Nirgali Ins. of Someśvara I, ś.E. 974=1052 A.D., *EI*, XVI, p. 67.

ई काडातं वाराणसी[1] कुरुक्षेत्रं[2] प्रयागेयार्घ्यंतीर्थं[3] गंगेगयायेम्ब[4] महापुण्यतीर्थं[5] ।

—Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI, 1082 A.D., *EI*, XVI, p. 67.

See also Lakshmeśvara Ins., dated 1102 A.D., *EI*, XVIII, p. 179.

ई · · · वाराणसी कुरुक्षेत्र प्रयागेयार्घ्यंतीर्थं केदार श्रीशैलं
गंगे गंगासागरंग लेम्बादीय तीर्थगलोल · · · ब्राह्मणग्गे उभयमुखी कोदृफलं ।

—Bankpur Ins. of the time of Someśvara I, ś.E. 977=1055 A.D., *EI*, XIII, p. 175.

[9]Several of the Liṅgas counted later on as *Jyotirliṅgas* are invoked and described in inscriptions but nowhere have they been styled as *Jyotirliṅga*. Viśveśvara at Kāśī, which is one of the twelve, became famous as Viśveśvara only after the 12th century A.D. (see *infra*). The *Tīrtha-kalpataru* composed by Lakshmīdhara gives the lists of *Śaivāyatanas* and *Kshetras* but nowhere discloses any knowledge regarding the twelve *Jyotirliṅgas*. Instead, we get reference to five *Liṅgas*, later included in the list of twelve *Jyotirliṅgas*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

our period, Vārāṇasī had become famous as a sacred place. The Benaras Ins. of Panth[10] (seventh century A.D.) describes it as being inherited by the passionless with their minds fixed on liberation from birth and death. "The Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhaśiva dated 973 A.D. mentions the construction of an abode by the pontiff Prabodhaśiva with a mind to stay in holy places and obtain final rest."[11] Similarly Veravala Ins. of Bhāva Bṛhaspati, VAL. S. 850=1169 A.D., describes the city as a place of righteous deeds (*dharma*) and salvation (*moksha*).[12]

It was recognized as the most sacred *tīrtha*[13] in the whole of India from at least the ninth century A.D. The destruction of the city has been mentioned as the deadliest sin while giving of cows here was regarded as the most meritorious act in the inscriptions of Southern India of this period.

(b) Sacred to Śiva and Vishṇu:—Although the Vaishṇava shrine of Ādikeśava at Vārāṇasī figures prominently in the Gahaḍavāla epigraphs and has been mentioned in an allegorical drama of this period as a place where evil forces were routed in a battle against Vaishṇava spiritual doctrines, the city was pre-eminently associated

---

[10]ख्याता वाराणसीयं त्रिभुवन भवना भोगचौरीतिदूरात् ।
सेवन्ते यां विरक्ता जननमरणयोर्म्मोक्षसक्तैकचित्तः ॥ —*EI*, IX, p. 60.

[11]तीर्थस्नाननिषेवनो(णो)ऽद्यतधियामत्यन्तविश्रान्तये
यस्तत्कारितवान्मुनिः सुरसरित्तीरे तपस्थानकम् ॥१४॥
—*MASI*, XXIII, p. 122 ff.

[12]अस्ति श्रीमति कान्यकुब्जविषये वाराणसी विश्रुता ।
पुर्यस्यामधिदेवता कुलग्र(गृ)हं धर्मस्य मोक्षस्य च ॥५॥ —*BI*, p. 18.

[13]ख्याता वाराणसीयं · · ·
सो · · · त सगणो यत्र देवोविमुक्तः
यं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्महापि च्युतकलिकलुषो जायते शुद्धभावः ॥१॥

'*Vimukta*' has been translated by D. R. Sahni, the editor of the inscription, as 'emancipated god'. But the word really seems to be "Avimukta" with 'a' in *avagraha* form not written. In the epigraphs of the age, *avagrahas* are generally omitted. The word '*vimukta*' does not yield any happy sense while 'Avimukta' quite fits in the context. The idea that a murder of Brāhmaṇa is absolved from sin by seeing Avimukta occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Matsya-purāṇa*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

with Śiva. A seventh century inscription eulogises Vārāṇasī as a place where "the god Avimukta resides with his attendants. A Chedi epigraph of the tenth century A.D. expressly states that "the inhabitants of Benaras are devoted to the worship of Maheśvara."[14] A little later the Veravala Ins. of Bhāva Bṛhaspati[15] narrates the story of the incarnation of Nandikeśvara in Vārāṇasī at the behest of Śiva. The Sāhitya-Parishat CP. Ins. of Viśvarūpasena[16] mentions it "as the site of Viśveśvara". The *Halāyudha Stotra* as inscribed in the Amareśvara Temple refers to 'the divine lustre' in the form of god Avimukta at Vārāṇasī.[17]

(c) Names:—The name Vārāṇasī generally occurs in inscriptions although Kāśī, Kāśikā, Avimukta-kshetra and Viśveśvara-kshetra[18] are also mentioned. A Sena inscription hints at the derivation of Vārāṇasī as being bounded by rivers Varuṇā and Asī. Seals bearing the legend of Avimukta or Avimukteśvara have been found at Rajghat.[19] On palaeographic basis they may be assigned from the fifth century A.D. to the eight–ninth century A.D.

(d) Avimukta and Vārāṇasī:—Although the earliest epigraphic reference to Avimukta as a name of Śiva occurs in the Nidhanpur CP. of Bhāskaravarmman, its association with Vārāṇasī has been mentioned in an epigraph of the eighth century A.D. It describes Avimukta as the most sacred deity of the city. The *Halāyudha Stotra* inscribed in the Amareśvara temple refers to it as "the

---

[14]यत्संसेव्य महेश्वरार्च्चनरता वाराणसीवासिनो ।
मन्यन्ते भवसागरं गुरुमपि क्षीणं · · · पदम् ॥१४॥ —*MASI*, XXIII, p. 122.

[15]यस्ति श्रीमति कान्यकुब्ज-विषये वाराणसी विश्रुता
· · · · · · · · · · · ·
तस्यामीश्वरशासनाद्विजपतेर्गेहे स्वजन्मगृहं
चक्रे पाशुपतं व्रतंचविदधे नन्दीश्वरः सर्ववित् ॥५॥ —*BI*, p. 186.

[16]*IB*, III.

[17]वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं देवदेवाविमुक्तं सै(शै)वं ज्योतिः
सकलभुवनालोकनादर्शभूतम् ॥३८॥ —*EI*, XXV, p. 179.

[18]Kāśikā in Augasi CP. of Madanavarmman, v.s. 1055, *IA*, XII, p. 204. Avimukta-kshetra in a CP. of Govindachandra, v.s. 1197, *EI*, IV, p. 114. Viśveśvara-kshetra in Sāhitya Parishat CP. of Viśvarūpa, *IB*, III.

[19]These seals furnish very interesting details on the religious history of Benaras from the fifth to the eighth century A.D.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

divine light of Śiva[20] which "appeared in Vārāṇasī.[21] A Gahaḍavāla record dated in 1197 A.D. mentions Avimukta-kshetra as an adjective of Vārāṇasī. Thus, Avimukta appears to be the most important deity of the city at least from the fifth century A.D. to the twelfth century A.D.

(i) *Avimukta and Vārāṇasī in Literature*—The *Jābālopanishad* mentions that Avimukta is established in between Varuṇā and Nasi.[22] The *Mahābhārata*[23] and the *Matsya-purāṇa* also mention Avimukta and record the tradition (which occurs in inscriptions also) that a murderer of Brāhmaṇa becomes free from sin by seeing the image of the Lord.

On the contrary the mention of Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha as a *liṅga* at Vārāṇasī occurs nowhere in early literature.

(ii) *Avimukta and Trikaṇṭaka*:—Vārāṇasī is described in *saṁkalpa* as decked with *trikaṇṭaka*. According to the *Liṅga-purāṇa*, three great liṅgas of the city were known as *Trikaṇṭaka*—(a) Avimukta, (b) Svarliṅga, and (c) Madhyama.[24] It may be noted that *trikaṇṭaka* was an ornament of the ear with three jewels and that it is mentioned in literature and represented in sculptures.

(iii) *Avimukta as a Divine Liṅga*:—Avimukta was one of the Five Great Liṅgas of the country[25] and was regarded "as the divine light of Śiva". The *Liṅga-purāṇa* describes it as svayambhū-liṅga which revealed itself by piercing its way through the ground. The Benaras Ins. of Panth of the eighth century A.D. mentions that the

---

[20]भोगीश्वरकृतपरि करमीक्षणजितकामरूपमविमुक्तम् ।
परमेश्वरस्य रूपं निजभूतिविभूषितं जयति ॥
—*Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, p. 11.

[21]अविमुक्तश्च केदार ओंकारश्चामरस्तथा । पंचमं(मस्)तु महाकालः पंचलिंगाः प्रकीर्तये(प्रकीर्त्यते)।
—The Amareśvara Temple Ins., *EI*, XXV, p. 185.
वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं दैवाभिमुक्तं पै(शै)वं ज्योतिः । —The *Halāyudha Stotra* inscribed in Amareśvara Ins., *ibid.*, p. 179.

[22]सोऽविमुक्त उपास्यः । य एषो नन्तो व्यक्त आत्मा सोऽविमुक्तेप्रतिष्ठित इति । वरणायां नास्यांच मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति । —*Jābālopanishad.*

[23]*Vanaparva*, 84. 79.

[24]अविमुक्तंच स्वर्लीनं तथा मध्यमकं शुभम् ।
एतत्त्रिकण्टकं नाम मृत्युकाले मृतप्रदम् । —*Liṅga P.*, XVIII.

[25]अविमुक्तश्च केदार ओंकारश्चामरस्तथा ।
पंचमं(मस्)तु महाकालः पंचलिंगाः प्रकीर्तये (प्रकीर्त्यते) ॥
—The Amareśvara Temple Inscription, *EI*, XXV, p. 185.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

sight of Avimukta would purify even the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa. It has also been stated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Matsya-purāṇa*.[26] The same inscription which says that "the sight of Avimukta frees a man from every stain of sin" probably hints at the derivation of Avimukta given in the "*Liṅga-purāṇa* as free (mukta) from *avi* (sins)".[27]

(iv) *Viśveśvara*:—Strangely enough, there are only two epigraphic references to Viśveśvara and even they are later than the twelfth cent. A.D. Sena inscriptions from the thirteenth cent. A.D. describe Vārāṇasī as the "site of Viśvanātha"[28] while a fragmentary inscription dated 1296 A.D. found in a mosque at Jaunpur describes the construction of a Padmeśvara temple at the gate of Viśveśvara in Kāśī. None of the numerous Gahaḍavāla records mentions it and what is more significant, Lakshmīdhara (c. 1110 A.D.), the Śaiva minister of Govindachandra Gahaḍavāla and probably a resident of Benaras, who describes in great details the shrines of Vārāṇasī, mentions it but casually. One of the three references to Viśveśvara in that book is merely an adjective to Avimukteśvara. Hence, it is sometimes stated that "Viśveśvara was an ordinary *liṅga* like hundreds of others in twelfth century A.D." This statement, however, requires modification. Sena inscriptions from the first decade of the thirteenth century A.D. describe Vārāṇasī as the *kshetra* (kingdom) of Viśveśvara indicating thereby that Viśveśvara was the most important deity of Vārāṇasī during that period. In the same century commemorative temples were being built at the gate of Viśveśvara shrine and this also indicates its importance. Mallīnātha (14th century A.D.) on *Raghuvaṁśa*

---

[26]अविमुक्तं समासाद्य तीर्थसेवी कुरुद्वह । दर्शनाद्देवदेवस्य मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्यया ॥ ७६॥
—*Mahābhārata*, III. 84.

ब्रह्मा योऽभिगच्छेतु अविमुक्तं कदाचन ।
तस्य क्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्याद् ब्रह्महत्या निवर्त्यते ॥ —*Matsya P.*

cf. देवो वि(वि)मुक्तः ।
यं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्महत्यापि च्युत-कलि-कलुषो जायतेशुद्धभाव ।
—*EI*, IX, p. 60.

[27]'अवि' शब्देन पापस्तु वेदोक्तः कथ्यते द्विजैः ।
तेन मुक्तं मया जुष्टमविमुक्तमतोच्यते ।

[28]क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसि वरणाश्लेषगंगोर्मिभाजि ।
—*IHQ*, II, p. 83; IV, p. 14; *IB*, III.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

XVIII. 24 explains Viśveśvara as the lord of Kāśī.[29] Thus it may be said that Viśveśvara had become the most important deity of Benaras before the thirteenth century A.D.

(v) *Avimukta and Viśveśvara*:—It is rather curious that inscriptions and literature mention Avimukta as the most important deity of the city upto the end of the twelfth cent. A.D. while Viśveśvara became equally important from the thirteenth cent. A.D. The sudden rise of Viśveśvara within a decade is almost inexplicable. This puzzle can be solved if Avimukta and Viśveśvara are regarded as identical. Literary tradition supports the suggestion. (a) Vāchaspati (C. 1450 A.D.) states that Avimukteśvara-liṅga is probably known as Viśvanātha.[30] (b) Viśveśvara occurs merely as an adjective to or another name of Avimukta in the *Matsya-purāṇa*.[31] (c) The high position occupied by Avimukta, the "divine light of Śiva", has been assigned to Viśvanātha, the Jyotirliṅga in later tradition. From the fifteenth cent. A.D., they appear to have been differentiated because of the confusion created by the vigorous iconoclastic activities of the Muslims. The suggestion is, therefore, very plausible but by no means certain.

(e) Other Śaiva Shrines:—Inscriptions mention shrines of (i) Kṛttivāsa, (ii) Aghoreśvara, (iii) Pañchoṁkāra, (iv) Lauḍeśvara, (v) Vedeśvara, (vi) Svapneśvara, (vii) Indreśvara, (viii) Trilochaneśvara, (ix) Padmeśvara, and (x) Vīreśvara.

(i) *Kṛttivāsa*:—It is mentioned in the Kamauli CP. of Jayachandra,[32] v.s. 1235, and is described as an important shrine in the *Liṅga-*, *Saura-*[33] and *Skanda-purāṇas*. It was one of the Five

[29]विश्वेश्वरं काशीपतिमाराध्योपास्य etc. Although it is extremely doubtful that Viśveśvara in the *Raghuvaṁśa* is the name of a *liṅga* of Kāśī.

[30]अविमुक्तश्मशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितमविमुक्तेश्वरं लिंगं विश्वनाथ नाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम् ।
—*Tīrtha Chintāmaṇi*, p. 360. But *contra* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in the *Tri-sthalī-setu*, p. 296 (c. 1560 A.D.) and Mitra Miśra in the *Tīrtha-prakāśa*, p. 187 (c. 1620 A.D.).

[31]जात्यन्तर सहस्रेषु अविमुक्ते म्रियते यः । भक्तो विश्वेश्वरे नित्यं न स भूयोऽभिजायते ।
Sri K. V. Rangasvami Aiyangar in *Introduction* (p. lxxiii) to *TK* of Lakshmīdhara remarks that Viśveśvara here "merely refers to Śiva of Avimukteśvara descriptively as Lord of the universe.

[32]Kamauli Plate of Jayachandra, *EI*, IV, p. 110.

[33]*TK*, pp. 77–84; *Saura P.*, VI, vv 19–23; *Skanda*, *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, LXVIII, vv. 27–29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Īśvaras of Benaras.[34]

(ii–iv) *Aghoreśvara, Pañchoṁkāra and Lauḍeśvara*:—These along with the shrine of Aindramādhava have been mentioned in a CP. grant of Govindachandra, v.s. 1171,[35] which records the donation of an abode situated near these shrines. The *Liṅga-purāṇa*, as quoted in the *TK*, describes the shrines of Aghoreśvara and Pañchoṁkāra as situated in a contiguous area.[36]

(a) Aghoreśvara:—This shrine is in the vicinity of the modern shrine of Viśvanātha and was named after the ascetic known as Aghora.

(b) Pañchoṁkāra:—They appear to be identical with the *Pañcha-brahma* shrines mentioned in the *Purāṇas*.[37] These Pañcha-brahma shrines are those of (i) Oṁkāra, (ii) Śrīkaṇṭha, (iii) Jābāla, (iv) Gārgya and (v) Kapila. Shrines connected with these deities have been described in the *Liṅga-purāṇa*.

(c) Lauḍeśvara:—Inscription indicates that it was near the temple of Aindramādhava (probably Vindu-Mādhava) and was to the east

---

[34]अविमुक्तंच स्वर्लीनमोंकारं चण्डमीश्वरम् ।
मध्यमं कृतिवासं च षडंगमीश्वरं स्मृतम् ॥ —*Liṅga P.*, quoted in *TK*, p. 124.

[35]*EI*, VIII, p. 152 ff.

[36]ओंकारमूर्तिमास्थाय स्थिताऽहं तत्र सुव्रते ।
चत्वारो मुनयः सिद्धास्तस्मिंल्लिंगे यशस्विनि ॥
वामदेवस्तु सावर्णिरघोरः कपिलस्तथा ।
तस्मिंल्लिंगे तु संसिद्धा नन्दीशस्य प्रभावतः ॥
तस्य द्वारे तु सुश्रोणि सिद्ध अघोरो महामुनिः ।
अनेनैव शरीरेण रुद्रत्वं गतवान् मुनिः ॥ —*TK*, p. 60.

[37]मत्स्योदरीतटे रम्ये सुरसिद्ध नमस्कृते ।
... ... आयतने शुभे ।
श्रीकण्ठनामविख्यातं कपिलेश्वरदक्षिणे ।
तस्मिन् पाशुपतः सिद्धः क्रतुध्वज इति स्मृतः ।
तस्मिंल्लिंगेतु जाबालः सिद्धं परमिकां गतः ॥
अपरं ... ...
ओंकारेश्वरनामानं देवानामपि दुर्लभम् ।
तत्र सिद्धिं परां प्राप्तो मुनिः कालिकवृक्षियः ।
तस्यैव दक्षिणे ... ...
तस्मिंल्लिंगे तु संसिद्धौ गार्ग्यश्च सुमहातपः ॥
पंचायतनमेतन्ते मया च कथितं शुभे ।
... ...
पंच ब्रह्मेति विख्यातमेतदद्यापि सुन्दरि ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

of the shrines of Aghoreśvara and Pañchoṁkāra (which were in the Matsyodarī area). Literary as well as oral tradition of Benaras is unacquainted with the shrine named as Lauḍeśvara. The *Liṅga-purāṇa* mentions a temple of Kuṇḍeśvara[38] which may be the correct reading for Lauḍeśvara.

(v) *Vedeśvara*:—It occurs in a Gahaḍavāla[39] record and has been located in the Purāṇas to the south of Ādikeśava and in the vicinity of Saṁgameśvara in the modern Rājghāt area.

(f) Vaishṇava Shrines:—Ādikeśava, Aindra-mādhava(?), Vindu-Mādhava and Śārṅgadhara temples have been mentioned in inscriptions.

(*a*) *Ādikeśava*:—Most of the Gahaḍavāla rulers—Chandradeva, Madanapāla and Govindachandra sanctioned land-grants in the vicinity of the god Ādikeśava after taking a bath at the Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭa.[40] It is also remarkable that Kṛshṇa Miśra in his *Prabodha-Chandrodaya* mentions Ādikeśava temple in front of which evil forces were routed by Vaishṇava principles. Thus from the eleventh cent. A.D., the shrine of Ādikeśava at Vārāṇasī was an important Vaishṇava temple. It is, therefore, very strange that it does not figure at all as an important temple in the work of the Gahaḍavāla minister. It may be further noted that even the *Matsya-purāṇa* does not attach any importance to it while later writers held it in high esteem.[41]

(*b*) *Aindra-mādhava*:—It finds mention in a grant of Govinda-

---

[38]कुण्डेश्वरमिति ख्यातं सर्वसिद्धैस्तु वन्दितम् ।
दीक्षां पाशुपतीं तीर्त्वा द्वादशाक्षरेण यत्फलम् ।
तत्फलं लभते देवि ब्राह्मणास्तु न संशयः । —*Ibid.*, p. 68.

[39]वेदेश्वरस्योत्तरतः स्वयन्तिष्ठति केशवः ।
तत्समीपे तु सुश्रोणि लिंग मे संगमेश्वरम् ॥ —*Ibid.*, p. 44.

[40]Chandrādityadeva, *EI*, XIV, p. 198; Madanapāla, *JRAS*, 1896, p. 787; Govindachandra, *EI*, IV, p. 97.

[41]Vide, *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, LX, vv. 4–6. The *Vāmana-purāṇa*, however, mentions only three shrines at Benaras—Avimukta, Keśava and Lolārkka.

माघमासमथोपोष्य ततो वाराणसीं गतः ।
दशाश्वमेधे गंगायां तीर्थे सुरगृहादिषु ॥
प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य पुरी पूज्याविमुक्तकेशवौ ।
लोलं दिवाकरं दृष्ट्वा ततो मधुतमं ययौ ॥ —as quoted in *TK*, p. 237.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

chandra[42] issued in v.s. 1171. It is mentioned in none of the numerous works describing the shrines of Benaras. It appears to be a wrong reading for *Vindu-mādhava*. The name ending with *Mādhava* indicates that it was a Vaishṇava shrine.

(*c*) *Śārṅgadhara Temple*:—The Purushottama Plates of Rāmachandra of the Yādava dynasty[43] record the construction of a golden temple dedicated to *Śārṅgapāṇi*.

(g) Saura Shrine:—Lolārkka figures in the Kamauli CP. of Jayachandradeva v.s. 1233.[44] Sunday, the day on which the grant was issued, was particularly sacred to the Sun god in the form of Lolārkka.

(h) Śākta Shrine:—The Benaras Ins. of Panth[45] records the construction of a shrine for the goddess Bhavānī.

(i) Koṭitīrtha:—It is mentioned in a grant of Govindachandra[46] dated v.s. 1207. "There are several places at present known by that name." But the Koṭitīrtha of the inscription is to be identified with the Koṭitīrtha of Lakshmīdhara.[47]

Ādikeśava, *Vedeśvara*,[48] *Svapneśvara*[49] and *Kapāla-mochana*[50] ghaṭs have been mentioned in the Gahaḍavāla and the Maṇikarṇikā in the Chandella records. The Daśāśvamedhas performed by the Bhāraśivas mentioned in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, have been associated with the *Daśāśvamedha* ghaṭ of Benaras.

2. PRAYĀGA

It is known from inscriptions that in the fifth cent. A.D. Prayāga was a sacred place where kings of Deccan came on pilgrimage and bestowed gifts on the Brāhmaṇas.[51] An admonitory formula in old

---

[42]*EI*, VIII, p. 152.

[43]वाराणसीं म्लेच्छगणाद्विमोचयत् हिरण्मयं शार्ङ्गधरालयं व्यधात् । —*EI*, III, p. 211.

[44]*EI*, IV, p. 29. [45]*EI*, IV, p. 60.

[46]*EI*, VIII, p. 159.

[47]कोटितीर्थेषु यः स्नात्वा कोटीश्वरमथार्चयेत्
गवां कोटि प्रदानेन यत्फलं लभते नरः ।
तत्फलं सकलं तस्य स्नानैकेन सुन्दरि ॥ —*TK*, p. 54.

[48]*EI*, IV, p. 114. [49]*EI*, V, p. 113.

[50]*EI*, IV, p. 110. [51]*EI*, XIX, p. 102.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Kanarese language, which usually occurs in the inscriptions of this period from Dharawar area, indicates that is was regarded as one of the three, four, five or seven holiest cities of the country. Sena inscriptions mention it with Vārāṇasī and Purī. The Cintra Praśasti of Śārṅgadeva records the visit of ascetics to it.

(a) Prayāga as Prajāpati-Kshetra:—The earliest epigraphic reference to Prayāga as a Prajāpati-kshetra occurs in the Rithpur CP. of Bhavadattavarmman.[52] Inscriptions of Viśvarūpasena also refer to the performance of sacrifices by the lotus-born Brahmā on the bank of Triveṇī.[53]

(b) Religious Suicide at Prayāga:—Kumāragupta,[54] a king of the Later Gupta dynasty (c. 554 A.D.), Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalachuri ruler (1041 A.D.), the Chandella king Dhaṅgadeva (1001–02 A.D.) and the Chandella minister Ananta committed suicide at Prayāga. There is also some evidence for the suicide of Vallālasena,[55] the Sena ruler. Data for the suicide of Dhruva Rāshṭrakūṭa are not

---

[52]भगवतः प्रजापतिः(तेः)क्षेत्रे गंगायमुनयोः सवैधे प्रयागस्थिते । —*EI*, XIX, p. 102.

[53]तीरोत्संगे त्रिवेण्याः कमलभवमखारम्भनिर्व्याजपूते ।

It may be noted that the *Matsya* (CIV, 5) and the *Kūrma-purāṇa* (1, 36) mention it as *Prajāpati-kshetra* while the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* do not refer to it.

[54]शौर्य-सत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो धने ।
अग्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः स पुष्पपूजितः ॥ —*CII*, III, p. 203.

Fleet notes, "This verse seems to indicate that Kumāra Gupta's funeral rites took place at Allahabad but not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive" (*Loc. cit.*). But *Contra* K. C. Chattopādhyāya, *JUPHS*, X, p. 60 ff. See also *HD*, IV, p. 605, note 1372.

[55]In the *Adbhuta-sāgara* of Vallālasena, the royal author has been described to have drowned himself at Prayāga.

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनये साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं मुदा
दीक्षापर्वणि दक्षिणे निजकृते निष्पत्तिमस्थापयत् ।
नाना-दानतिलाम्बुसम्वलनभं सूर्यात्मजा संगमं
गंगायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥१०॥

—*IB*, p. 174.

But the tradition is not beyond doubt. The compilation of *Dānasāgara* in 1091 Śaka militates against the statement that Vallālasena committed suicide in 1089 Śaka.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

certain.[56]

(a) *Suicide in the Fire of Cow-dung Cakes*:—Kumāragupta, the Later Gupta ruler, entered the fire of cow-dung cakes at Prayāga. This mode of suicide is regarded as most meritorious in the

---

[56]Baroda CP. of Karka Suvarṇavarsha (*IA*, XII, p. 159) records—

यो गंगायमुने तरंगसुभगे गृह्णान् परेभ्यः समं
साक्षाच्चिह्ननिभेन चोत्तमपदं तत्प्राप्तवानैश्वरम् ।
देहा सम्मितवैभवैरिव गुणैर्यस्य भ्रमद्भिर्दिशो
व्याप्तास्तस्य बभूव कीर्त्तिपुरुषो गोविन्दराजः सुतः ॥

But Altekar remarks, "Prinsep's view (*JASB*, 1839, p. 304) that this verse refers to Dhruva's drowning at the Ganges and Jumna can no longer be accepted." (*The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 58). But *Contra*, Chattopadhyaya (*JUPHS*, X, p. 75). "There is a clear pun in *aiśvaryam* in l. 2. The *Purāṇas* mention that the death near the famous banyan tree at Prayāga takes one to the region of Śiva. I have, therefore, no hesitation in rejecting the suggestion of A. S. Altekar that the verse has to be interpreted as referring to Dhruva's occupation of the Ganges-Jumna Doab. His further statement that "the poet imagines that the acquisition of heaven by Dhruva, which is mentioned in the later half verse was due to his possession of the holy Jumna and the Ganges is quite absurd. Nobody can possess the Jumna and the Ganges. And how can possession of the contiguous land take him to heaven either?" Chattopadhyaya's arguments are weak. For the possession of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā I would quote the following lines from a Chālukya record:—

गंगायमुनापालिध्वजपटहढकमहाशब्दचिह्नमाणिक्य मतंगजादीन् पितृसात्कुर्वन · · ·

—*EI*, XXV.

The verse of the Baroda plate, therefore, yields two meanings, one in favour of Śiva and the other in case of Dhruva. In the case of Śiva, '*aiśvaryaṁ*' means the status of Śiva. Gaṅgā and Yamunā are the door-keepers. *Uttamapada* is the high position of Devadeva.

In the case of Dhruva, *aiśvaryaṁ* means overlordship. He possessed Gaṅgā and Yamunā as the Chālukya kings possessed them. Vide Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya quoted above. *Uttamapada* would be the high status of overlordship. For *aiśvaryaṁ* compare:—

सकलोत्तरापथनाथमथनोपार्ज्जितोर्जितपालिध्वजादि समस्त पारमैश्वर्यचिह्नस्य ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Purāṇas.[57]

(b) *Suicide at Akshayavaṭa*:—The Kalachuri King Gāṅgeyadeva obtained salvation at the foot of the *Vaṭa* tree at Prayāga along with his hundred wives.[58] Suicide by jumping from the tree has been described by Hiuen Tsiang and recommended in the *Matsya-purāṇa* as quoted in the *TK*.[59]

(c) *Suicide by Drowning at the Confluence*:—Dhaṅga, after living for more than hundred years, at last "abandoned the body in the waters of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra and muttering holy prayers."[60] Ananta also drowned himself at the confluence.[61]

(d) *Suicide by a Brāhmaṇa*:—Some medieval writers prohibit suicide by Brāhmaṇas at Prayāga.[62] But the example of the Brāhmaṇa minister Ananta indicates that there was no such prohibition in earlier times.

(c) Shrines at Prayāga:—Inscriptions mention the shrines of Gaṅgāditya[63] and Trilochana.

---

[57]गंगायमुनयोर्मध्ये कर्षाग्नियस्तु साधयेत ।
अहीनाँगो ह्यरोगश्च पंचेन्द्रियसमन्वितः ॥९॥
यावन्ति रोमकूपाणि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिनः ।
तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥१०॥ —*Matsya-purāṇa*, CVII.

[58]प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस(श) व(व)न्धौसार्द्धशतैनगृहिणीमरमुत्तमुक्तम् ॥१२॥
—Jabalpur Ins. of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, *EI*, II, pp. 1–7.
It is rather strange that this important fact has not been mentioned in the grants of his son Lakshmīkarṇa specially when the Benaras CP. Grant was issued at the time of the annual *Śrāddha* of Gāṅgeyadeva. For the first time it is mentioned in the grants of his grandson.

[59]वटमूलं समासाद्य यस्तु प्राणान्परित्यजेत् ।
सर्वलोकानतिक्रम्य रुद्रलोकं स गच्छति ॥ —*TK*, p. 152.

[60]*EI*, I, p. 137.

[61]Manchandella Ins. of Madanavarmman, *EI*, I, pp. 200–201. That Ananta was Brāhmaṇa is mentioned in v. 29.

[62]"*Tīrtha-Prakāśa* holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga. Its own view appears to be that a Brāhmaṇa should not commit suicide at Prayāga on account of prohibition contained in *kalivarjya* verses and that members of other *varṇas* may do so." (*HD*, IV, p. 609).

[63]Kamauli Plate of Jayachandra, *EI*, IV.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(d) Prayāga in Sculptures:—The confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at Prayāga is depicted as the meeting of the two river-goddesses in anthropomorphic form in the Ādivarāha image at Udayagiri.

3. GAYĀ

Gayā had become a sacred place centuries before this period. History of some of its sub-tīrthas may be traced back to very early times.[64] A sub-tīrtha finds mention in an inscription of eighth century A.D.[65] Karnāṭaka inscriptions from the eleventh cent. A.D. count Gayā as one of the holiest places of the country.[66]

(a) Gayā from Ninth Century A.D.:—Inscriptions reveal great architectural and religious activities at Gayā from the ninth century A.D. Bhāṇḍadeva, a Vaishṇava recluse, had constructed a residence for ascetics.[67] The movement gained momentum in the eleventh century under the local Brāhmaṇa rulers, Paritosha, Śūdraka, Viśvarūpa and Yakshapāla who have left a series of five inscriptions.[68] "Numerous temples" were built and rebuilt. Sacrifices were

---

[64]"I, therefore, hold that at least six hundred years before Christ (and hence even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Vishṇu's foot-prints in at least two well-known places, viz. *Vishṇupada* and *Gayaśirsha* (both in Gayā)."

—Kane, *HD*, IV, p. 647.

See also *JBORS*, XXIV, pp. 89–111.

[65]Bodhgayā Ins. of the time of Dharmapāla mentions the shrine of Champeśa. *GL*, p. 29.

[66]*Supra.*

[67]*PB*, p. 60.

[68](a) Gayā (Kṛshna Dvārikā) Ins. of the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla, (*GL*, p. 110).

(b) Gayā (Narasiṁha Temple) Ins. of the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla, *PB*, 78.

(c) Gayā (Akshyavaṭa Temple) Ins. of the regnal year of Vigrahapāla III, *PB*, 81.

(d) Gayā (Gadādhara Image) Ins. of Paritosha, *PB*, 82–83.

(e) Gayā (Śītalā Temple) Ins. of Yakshapāla, *IA*, XVI, p. 64 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

performed and liberal benefactions were made.[69] It is perhaps because of them that Gayā became so important a religious place from the fourteenth century A.D.[70]

(b) Gayā as a Sacred Place:—In earlier literature[71] and inscriptions Gayā pre-eminently figures as *Pitṛ-tīrtha*. The Kṛshṇa-Dvārikā Temple Inscription,[72] 1053 A.D., describes Gayā as "an open gate to salvation". According to the Narasiṁha Temple Ins.[73] of the same year it provides "pleasure (in life) and liberation (after death)". The epigraph of Yakshapāla[74] records that Gayā "in the guise of furnishing flights of steps on the banks of Phalgū and elsewhere provides stairs for these (*pitṛs*) who, cleansed of darkness, go to the abode of heaven". Śaiva ascetic Vimalaśiva,[75] before taking *sannyāsa*, visited the place for "paying off the ancestral debt".

Thus, Gayā was a place especially sacred for the performance of the *śrāddhas*. Incidentally it may be noted that inscriptions nowhere mention Vishṇu as the presiding deity of the city.

(c) Gaya, Gayā and the Gayāla Brāhmaṇas:—According to an earlier tradition the city was named after the sage king Gaya.[76] The

---

[69]येनाद्यापि चकाश(स)ति प्रतिदिशं देवालयाः कारिताः।
भूयांगो(यांसो)हिमदीधिति द्युतिमुषो मेदिन्यलंकारिणी(णः) ॥
Shrines of Janārdana, Vaṭeśa, Gadādhara etc. were built.

[70]The opinion of M. M. Hara Prasad Sastri that "five or six centuries ago Gayā as a place of pilgrimage was in comparative obscurity" is evidently wrong. In the *Tri-sthalī-setu* and the *Tīrtha-chintāmaṇi*, Gayā has been regarded as one of the triad of the Hindu scared places.

[71]पितृतीर्थे गयानाम सर्वतीर्थवरं शुभम्। —The *Matsya* as quoted by *TK*, p. 163. See also *Śaṅkha-likhita*, XIV, 1–2; *Atri*, 56; *Likhita*, 12–13; *Yāj.*, I, 261; *Uśanas*, III, 132–33; *Rāmā.*, Ayodhyā, CVII, 11–13, etc.

[72]मोक्षद्वारमनर्गलं जगति सा श्रीमद्गया गीयते। 2 —*GL*, pp. 110 f.

[73]स्थातुं ब्रह्मविदां पुरीव घटिता मोक्षस्य सौख्यस्य च। —*PB*, 78, v. 2.

[74]तीर्थं फल्गुतटादितीर्थघटना व्याजेन सोपानिनी।
गन्तॄणां परमस्य धौततमसां धाम्नो गया राजते ॥2॥ —*IA*, XVI, p. 64.

[75]See *Supra*.

[76]*Gaya* as a king has been mentioned in the *Buddhacharita* (XII, 87–88), *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (SBE, XLVI, 86) and the *Purāṇas* (e.g. *Vāyu*, LXXXVI, 18–19). The story of his sacrifice is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Gayā-māhātmya[77] narrates the story of a sacrifice performed by Gaya at the conclusion of which he received two boons from gods, firstly that the city be named after him and secondly that the Brāhmaṇas of Gayā be venerated on religious occasions. The Narasiṁha Temple Inscription contains a veiled reference to the story as narrated in the Eulogium and thus proves that the tradition was known in c. 1053 A.D.

The story of King Gaya in the inscription and the *Vāyu-purāṇa* seems to be an attempt to exalt the position of the local Brāhmaṇas. Inscriptions belonging to the chiefs of the Paritosha line exhibit the same tendency. They greatly extol the Brāhmaṇas of the place. "So holy are the Brāhmaṇas of Gaya", records the Narasiṁha Temple Inscription, "that the ancestors living in the region of the dead (ascend to heaven and) sport with damsels as soon as they receive libation of water touched by the feet (of the Gayāla Brāhmaṇas)".[78] "The Akshayavaṭa Temple Inscription describes these Brāhmaṇas "as bereft of all blemishes and as if they are Brahmā in different forms".[79] The idea that they are the images of Brahmā

---

narrated at several places in the *Mahābhārata*, (*Vana*, XCV; CXXI and *Karṇa* LXVI). The belief that the city became far-famed because of the sacrifice of *Gaya* also occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (*Karṇa*, LXVI). The story of *Vāyu* seems to be an elaboration of this ancient tradition.

[77] *Vāyu*, CXII; see also

श्वेतकल्पे तु वाराहे गयो यागमकारयत् ॥७॥
गयानाम्ना गया ख्याता क्षेत्रं ब्रह्मामि कांक्षितम् ॥८॥ —*Ibid.*, CV.

[78] सेयं ब्रह्मपुरी गयेति जगति ख्याता स्वयं वेधसा
स्थातु ब्रह्मविदां पुरीव घटिता मोक्षस्य सौख्यस्य च ।
ब्रू (ब्र)मः किंच भवन्ति यत्र पितरः प्रेतालयावासिनः
पादस्पृष्टजलप्रदानविधिना नाकांगनानायकाः ॥२॥ —*BP*, p. 78.
गयस्तान् प्रार्थयामास अभिशप्ताश्च ये पुरा ॥४॥
ब्राह्मणा ते द्विजा पूता भवन्तु क्रतुपूजिताः ।
गयापुरीति मन्नाम्ना ख्याता ब्रह्मपुरी यथा ॥५॥ —*Vāyu-purāṇa*, CXIII

There is a striking resemblance in the phraseology also. Cf. *Brahmapurī Gayeti jagati khyātā* and *Gayāpurīti mannāmnā khyātā Brahmapurī yathā.*

[79] आसन्धायाकलंकान् प्रतिवपुष इव ब्राह्मणानब्जजन्मा
स्वर्गद्वाराधिरोहममृतपदसुखप्राप्तये प्रेत्यभाजः ॥२॥ —*PB*, 81.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

occurs in the Kṛshṇa Dvārikā Temple Inscription.[80] At least by the later half of the twelfth century A.D. these Brāhmaṇas had formed a group and were termed as Gayāla Brāhmaṇas. They were venerated and received land-grants from kings. Haridāsa, a Gayāla Brāhmaṇa, who obtained a donation from King Vallālasena (c. 1158–1178 A.D.) is mentioned in the Śaktipur CP. of Lakshmaṇa-sena.[81] This would indicate that the position of the Gayāla Brāhmaṇas was being exalted from the eleventh cent. A.D. and that they occupied the unquestioned status of Tīrtha-Brāhmaṇa from the twelfth cent. A.D. Evidence from inscriptions further points out the significant role that was played by the local Brāhmaṇa rulers in heightening the glory of the Gayā-Tīrtha Brāhmaṇas.

(d) Gayāsura Legend:—The *Gayā-māhātmya*[82] narrates another story to explain the name and the high sanctity of Gayā. At the request of Brahmā Gayāsura, a powerful demon, fell down upon earth so that a sacrifice could be performed upon his body. To make it stable for sacrifice Vishṇu, in three forms of Ādi-gadādhara, Janārdana and Puṇḍarīka, Brahmā in five forms of Pitāmaha, Prapitāmaha, Kaṅkeśvara, Kedāra and Phalgunātha and Śiva set upon it. The legend has been variously interpreted by Mitra, Malley, Barua and Kane. However, inscriptions do not contain any reference to this story.

(i) *Evidence from the Names of Donees*:—Some donees mentioned in copper plate grants bear the name of Gayādhara. The Paṭṭakadal (Bijāpur, Bombay) Ins.[83] of Kīrttivarmman II (belonging to the eighth cent. A.D.) was composed by Ārya-bhaṭṭa Gayādhara.[84] In the

---

[80]व्यानिर्म्माय समस्तवस्तुसुखिनो विप्रान् प्रजानां पति-
र्यो मध्यास्त(?) इवात्यनैव परितो मूर्त्तिप्रपंचंऽदधत् ॥२॥ —*GL*, p. 110.

[81]श्रीवल्लालसेन प्रदत्त गयाल ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणहरिदासेन —*l.* 45, *EI*, XXI, p. 219.

[82]*Vāyu*, CV-CXII.

[83]*EI*, III, p. 5. The evidence from this inscription, which comes from a region outside our survey has been taken into consideration as find-spot here is immaterial and does not in any way vitiate the conclusion.

[84]The reading "*Ārya-bhaṭṭa-Gayādhareṇa*" (*l.* 19 and the Nāgarī version, *l.* 23) is certain as "the *aksharas* are very distinct" (*Ibid.*, fn. 19). Still, the editor of the inscription, J. F. Fleet, had corrected it to *Gaṅgādhareṇa* presumably because *Gayādhara* is meaningless and therefore a mistake for *Gaṅgādhara*. But see the Chandrāvatī CPP.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Neulpur CP. of Śubhakara (which cannot be dated later than the ninth cent. A.D.) Gayādhara-svāmī[85] figures as one of the donees. The Chandrāvatī CPP. of Chandradeva,[86] v.s. 1150 and 1156, record as many as six persons bearing this name. Similarly, Semra CP. of Paramarddideva,[87] v.s. 1223, mentions six donees named Gayādhara. The Rewa CP. of the time of Jayasiṁha, K.S. 926 (=1175 A.D.), mentions a donee as Gayādhara.[88] Gajādhara, which is a Prākrit form of Gayādhara, occurs as a name of the scribe in the Delvāḍā Ins.[89] of Vīradhavala, v.s. 1267. A Chedi king of Tripurī was named as Gayākarṇṇadeva. Thus we find that Brāhmaṇas, kings and others were and could be named after Gayā. Gayā, therefore, does not seem to indicate a demon but, on the other hand, was held in high veneration during our period.

(e) The Three Forms of Vishṇu and Five Forms of Brahmā:— Inscriptions afford evidence for the fact that the shrines for some of the forms of Vishṇu and Brahmā came into existence from the eleventh cent. A.D. Temples of Ādi-gadādhara[90] and Janārdana[91] were constructed in c. 1053 A.D. and that of Prapitāmaha[92] before c. 1060 A.D. by Viśvarūpa. This would again indicate that the legend of Gayāsura, which involves the above forms of Vishṇu and Brahmā, was invented much after 1060 A.D.

---

of Chandra (*EI*, XIV, pp. 202–209) where both *Gayādhara* and *Gaṅgādhara* occur in the same inscription.

[85]*EI*, XV, p. 5, *l.* 27.

[86]*EI*, XIV, pp. 202–209; No. 22, 79, 105, 184, 209, 451.

[87]*EI*, IV, *ll.* 26, 69, 73, 100, 105, 106.

[88]*IA*, XVII, pp. 224–227.

[89]*PB*, p. 174.

[90]The Narasiṁha Temple Ins. of the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla. —*PB*, p. 78.

[91]The Kṛshṇa Dvārikā Temple Ins. of the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla. —*GL*, p. 110.

[92]Banerji writes, "It records the erection of *Liṅga* (*Vaṭeśa*) at *Akshayavaṭa* and another called *Prapitāmaheśvara* close by" (*PB*, p. 80). Led by him Barua remarks, "The temples of *Vaṭeśa* and *Prapitāmaheśvara* were built by the piety of the same Viśvāditya" (Barua, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, p. 61). But the inscription nowhere mentions *Prapitāmaheśvara* although in *l.* 21 it contains a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(i) *Gayā and Brahmā*:—In early literature, Brahmā has been described as the presiding deity of the place.[93] In the *Gayā-māhātmya* also Brahmā, although subordinate to Vishṇu in influence, plays a more important role in sanctifying the place.

Inscriptions also betray a very close association of Brahmā with the place and also with the Brāhmaṇas of the place. The Narasiṁha Temple Inscription describes the city as *Brahmapurī* evidently in two meanings—(a) residence of the Brāhmaṇas, and (b) the city of Brahmā. According to this inscription it was termed Gayā by Brahmā himself.[94] Similarly, the Kṛshṇa Dvārikā[95] and the Akshyavaṭa Temple Ins.[96] associate Brahmā with Gayā and Gayāla Brāhmaṇas.

(ii) *Gayā and Vaishṇavism*:—Although from very early times Vishṇu is associated with Gayā where he left his "foot-marks", it is only in the *Gayā-māhātmya* that he occupies the position of the presiding deity. The Gayā Ins. of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla mentions religious activities of an ascetic of the Pāñcharātric order by the name Bhāṇḍadeva.[97] The Kṛshṇa Dvārikā Temple Ins. of Viśvarūpa[98] betrays influence of Vaishṇava Tantra. Paritosha was a "worshipper of the feet of Achyuta".[99] The rulers of the Paritosha line seem to be Smārta-Vaishṇavas who worshipped other gods also. Viśvarūpa and Yakshapāla constructed Śaiva and Saura temples besides Vaishṇava shrines. The Vaishṇava influence on

---

reference to the *Prapitāmaha*:

कीर्त्तिः श्वेतगभस्ति हस्तरचितं इति राजतां देवस्य प्रपितामहस्य ।

That *Prapitāmaha* was a form of *Brahmā* is known from the *Vāyu P.*, CVI, 56 (निश्चलार्थं पंचधासीच्छिलायां प्रपितामहः । पितामहोऽथ फल्गवीशः केदारः कनकेश्वरः ।).

[93]पितृतीर्थं गया नाम सर्वतीर्थवरं शुभम् ।
यत्रास्ते देवदेवेशः स्वयमेव पितामहः ॥४॥
—*Matsya P.*, XXII. This is quoted by Lakshmīdhara, *TK*, p. 163.

[94]सेयं ब्रह्मपुरी गयेति जगति ख्याता स्वयं वेधसा ॥२॥ —*PB*, p. 78.

[95]*PB*, 2, p. 81. See also v. 2.

[96]*GL*, p. 110.

[97]*PB*, p. 60.

[98]V. 4 mentions *Nīla-Sarasvatī* (*Uru-nīla-padmā*), the Tantric goddess (*GL*, p. 111).

[99]अच्युतपादसेवी । —*l.* 3, p. 78.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

the place seems to have gradually increased from the eleventh cent. A.D. as many of the Vaishṇava sub-tīrthas sprang into existence during this period under the regime of the Smārta-Vaishṇava rulers. But Vishṇu has not yet come to be regarded as the presiding deity of Gayā. Gayāsura legend, which presupposes the predominance of Vaishṇavism over the place seems to be a later invention.

Thus the names of the donees as Gayādhara, the construction of temples for Janārdana, Ādi-gadādhara and Prapitāmaha in the later half of the eleventh cent. A.D. and the predominance of Brāhmic influence (instead of Vaishṇava) indicate that the legend of Gayāsura was invented after the period under discussion.

The following *sub-tīrthas* find mention in our inscriptions:

(f) Vaishṇava Shrines:—Ādi-gadādhara, Gadādhara, Janārdana, Nārāyaṇa and Nṛsiṁha temples find mention in epigraphs.

(*a*) *Ādi-gadādhara and Gadādhara Temples*:—The shrine of Ādi-gadādhara was constructed by Viśvarūpa, the feudal chief of Gayā in the fifteenth regnal year of Nayapāla, c. 1053 A.D.[100] It has been mentioned in none of the five religious pilgrimages described in the *Mahābhārata*.[101] Even the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (as quoted by Lakshmīdhara in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) does not refer to it.[102]

The Gayā Ins. of the time of Govindapāla,[103] V.S. 1232, reveals the existence of a monastery attached to Gadādhara temple. The *Varāha-purāṇa* (as quoted in *TK*, c. 1110 A.D.)[104] mentions a temple of Gadādhara but does not speak of *Ādi-gadādhara*. It seems that there was a shrine of Gadādhara even before the construction of the Ādi-gadādhara temple and hence prefix Ādi was added to differentiate the new shrine. The *Purāṇa*, by coining a story,

---

[100] *PB*, p. 78.

[101](a) Pulastya, (b) Dhaumya, (c) Lomaśa, (d) Balabhadra, (e) Aṅgirasa.

[102]I am leaving *Gayā-māhātmya* out of consideration as it is definitely later than our period. Ādi-gadādhara is mentioned in *Vāyu*, LXXXII, 23.

धर्मारण्यं ततो गच्छेदाद्यं दृष्ट्वा गदाधरम् ।

but even this portion is spurious as it occurs only in one manuscript. See the Ānandāśrama ed.

[103]*PB*, p. 109.

[104]यतो गदाधरः साक्षादस्मिंस्तीर्थे व्यवस्थितः ॥ —*TK*, p. 166.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

attempted to justify the name Ādi-gadādhara.[105] In course of time, however, the new shrine constructed by the reigning king gathered greater importance and became the most popular temple of the place.

(b) *Janārdana*:—The shrine was constructed in the same year (c. 1053 A.D.) by Viśvarūpa.[106] There is nothing, however, in inscriptions with regard to the myth of the stabilising of Gayāsura by Vishṇu in these forms. The Śītalā Temple Ins. of Yakshapāla[107] mentions the construction of temples for (*i*) Nārāyaṇa and (ii) Kamalā i.e., Visnṇu with Lakshmī.

(g) Śaiva Shrines:—Champeśa, Vaṭeśvara and Sahasraliṅga temples have been mentioned in inscriptions.

(a) *Champeśa*:—The Bodh-Gayā Ins. of the time of Dharmapāla[108] of the year 26 (=c. 796 A.D.) mentions the temple of Champeśa. The *Tīrtha-kalpataru*[109] describes Champaka forest as inhabited by meritorious persons.

(b) *Vaṭeśvara*:—The Akshayavaṭa Temple Ins. of the fifth year of Vigrahapāla II (c. 1060) describes the construction of Vaṭeśvara shrine by Viśvarūpa while the Śītalā Temple Ins. of Yakshapāla mentions Sahasraliṅga temple as constructed by Yakshapāla.

(h) Shrines of Brahmā:—Prapitāmaha, Phalgunātha, Kanakeśvara and Kedāra shrines were the temples of Brahmā constructed during this period. The Akshayavaṭa Temple Ins. (c. 1060 A.D.) mentions the temples of Prapitāmaha and Kanakeśvara built by Viśvarūpa. According to the Śītalā Temple Ins. of Yakshapāla the temples of Kedāra and Phalgunātha were built by Yakshapāla. The *Gayā-māhātmya* says that Brahmā stays at Gayā in five forms of Prapitāmaha, Phalgvīśa, Kedāra and Kanakeśvara.[110]

(i) Shrines of Sūrya:—The Vijayāditya and Maunāditya shrines were constructed by Yakshapāla.

---

[105]आद्यया गदयाभीतो यस्माद्दैत्यः स्थिरीकृतः ।
स्थित इत्येष हरिणा तस्मादादि-गदाधरः ॥६०॥ —*Vāyu*, CV.

[106]*GL*, p. 110.

[107]*IA*, XVI, p. 64 ff.

[108]*GL*, p. 29.

[109]*PB*, 81. यच्चम्पकवनं पुण्यं कृष्णिनिषेवितम् ।
—*TK*, p. 168 as quoted from *Vāyu*.

[110]निश्चलार्थं पंचधासीच्छिलायां प्रपितामहः । पितामहोऽथ फल्गवीशः केदारः कनकेश्वरः ॥
—*Vāyu*, CVI, p. 56.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(j) Other Sub-tīrthas:—

(a) *Phalgu-tīrtha*:—The Śītalā Temple Ins. of Yakshapāla says, "Gayā, which in the guise of furnishing flights of steps on the banks of Phalgu and elsewhere, provides stairs for those who, cleansed of darkness, go to the abode of heaven." This is one of the earliest sub-tīrthas and is mentioned twice in the *Mahābhārata*.[111]

(b) *Uttaramānasa*:—The inscription of Yakshapāla of the beginning of the twelfth cent. A.D. describes it as famous and records that it was re-excavated by him. The tank has been mentioned in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (as quoted by *TK* in 1110 A.D.)

4. PRABHĀSA—SOMANĀTHA

Prabhāsa was a sacred *tīrtha* even in the second century A.D. Its name occurs in Scythian inscriptions[112]. The *Mahābhārata* mentions it frequently and describes it as the hallowed site where Kṛshṇa abandoned his mortal frame. Its association with Vaishṇavism is also known from the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*,[113] a Tantric work of the Gupta period.

Prabhāsa in Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries:—It may be noted that Prabhāsa has not been mentioned in the Gupta, Valabhī and Pratihāra records. The Mauchandella Ins. of Madanavarmman refers to it as a sacred tīrtha.[114] The Pujaripali Ins. of Gopāladeva[115] (eleventh century A.D.) refers to it along with other Śaiva tīrthas. The Jabalpur Ins. of Vimalaśiva[116] (1174 A.D.) says that the Śaiva pontiff had gone on a pilgrimage of Prabhāsa before becoming a monk.

Somanātha:—The shrine of Somanātha in Prabhāsa had become

---

[111]ततो फल्गुं व्रजेद्राजन् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप ॥११॥ —*Vana*, LXXXIV.

[112]Nāsik and Karle Ins. of Nahapāna, Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 and 165.

[113]सुप्रसिद्ध-पूजिते-स्थाने देवब्रह्मर्षिसेविते । तपस्विजनसंकीर्णे पुण्यकृद्भिर्निषेविते ॥२॥
तीर्थोत्तमे प्रभासे वै यत्र सन्निहितः सदा । विश्वात्मा भगवान् विष्णुर्लोकानुग्रहकृत्प्रभा ॥३॥
—*Jayākhya*, p. 1.

[114]Hiralal, *Ins. of CP. and Berar*, p. 169.

[115]तस्योदग्रतपः प्रभाववसतेऽग्गोत्रे विवृद्धे क्रमा-
त्यु(ण्यै)कायतनं गुणौघसदनं जज्ञे प्रभासः सुधी ।
अत्युद्दाम सरस्वती विलसतेनोद्भासितं सादराः
प्राभासं कृतिनः सुतीर्थमिव यं दृष्टुं ययुः श्रेयसे ॥२०॥ —*EI*, I, p. 199.

[116]*EI*, XXV, p. 311 ff. प्रभासगोकर्ण्णगयादि तीर्थेष्वानृण्यमापद्य सुरादिवर्ये ॥३३॥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

famous much before the tenth century A.D. as Yuvarājadeva of Tripurī (c. 925 A.D.), after defeating "enemies in all directions" including the Lāṭas, had worshipped Somanātha and presented all the wealth collected in military expeditions to the deity.[117] Another inscription after half a century remembers the land-grant made by him to the shrine of Somanātha.[118] His son Lakshmaṇarāja (c. 950), after taking a bath in the sea, had worshipped Somanātha with "golden lotuses". He also made a reverential offering of an effigy of Kāliya serpent seized from the Lord of Oḍra.[119] The Udaipur Praśasti of the kings of Mālavā praises Bhoja Paramāra (c. 1000 A.D.) because he made the world (*jagati*) worthy of its name by covering it all around with temples dedicated to Kedāra, Rameśvara, Somanātha, Suṇḍīra (?) and Kālānala-rudra (Mahākāla ?).[120] Similarly, Śilāhāra records mention Somanātha as a very sacred shrine from the tenth cent. A.D. The Khārepāṭan CP. of Anantadeva, Ś.E. 1016 or 1017, mentions Arikesarin (Ś.E. 939), the Śilāhāra ruler, "who, even in childhood having with (his) army gone to and visited Someśvara, offered up before him the whole earth by direction of his father."[121] Mahāmātya Lakshmaṇa Nāyaka made a grant to

---

[117]येनार्ज्जितेन जगतीपतिना विजित्य सर्व्वाः दिशः समभिहृत्य नरेश्वराणाम् ।
तास्ताश्रियः परमभक्तिभरश्रिता श्री सोमेश्वराय समुपायनमक्रियन्त ॥
—*IA*, XVIII, p. 216.

[118]The Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhaśiva, c. 937 A.D., *l.* 47, *MASI*, XXIII, p. 122 f.

[119]निमज्ज्य यो रत्ननिधौ श्रीमान्सोमेश्वरं शनैः अभ्यर्च्च्य कांचनैः पद्मै(र)थाऽन्यत्तुत्यवेदयत् ॥६१॥
जित्वा कोसलनाथमोड्रनृपतेराप्तस्तु यो कालियो,
रत्नस्वर्णमयः स येन वि(हि)तत्सोमेश्वरेणाभ्यर्च्चनम् । —*EI*, I, p. 254 ff.

[120]केदार रामेस्व(श्व)रसोमनाथ सुंडीर कालानलरुद्रसत्कैः ।
सुराश्चयैर्व्याप्य च य समन्ताद्यथार्थसंज्ञां जगतीं चकार ॥२०॥

[121]गत्वा सै(शै)शव एव सैन्यसहितो दृष्ट्वा च सोमेश्वरं
तस्याग्रे पितुराज्ञया जगदलं यः कीलयित्वागतः । —*IA*, IX, p. 34, *ll.* 37–38.

The date of CP. is mentioned in *ll.* 75–77 as सकनृपकालातीत संवत्सर दशस(श)तेषु षोडसा(शा)धिकेषु···यज्ञांकतोपि सम्वत् १०१६. But K. M. Munshi in the *Somanātha, the Shrine Eternal* (p. 23) takes it to be Vikrama Era and writes, "the first available epigraphic evidence of Somanātha is found as of A.D. 960 referring to Anantadeva, the Northern Śilāhāra who came with an army to worship Somanātha at Prabhāsa". It may be further noted that it was not Anantadeva but Arikesarī who generations before the former visited Somanātha.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Somanātha in the time of Aparādityadeva, V.S. 1176(=1120 A.D.).[122]

Somanātha and Moon:—According to inscriptions, Soma, to free himself from consumption, founded the city of Prabhāsa and constructed a golden temple for the lord Somanātha. He gave this place to the *āchāryas* of the Pāśupata sect after initiating his own creed which had gone out of vogue in the Kṛta age by the curse of Pārvatī.[123]

Soma and Saivism in Prabhāsa : The Literary Tradition:—The story of consumption of moon and its partial cure occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*. According to the *Śiva-* and *Vāyu-purāṇas* Śiva incarnated himself at Prabhāsa as Somanātha. He had four disciples—Akshapāda, Kaṇāda, Ulūka and Vatsa. Akshapāda and Kaṇāda started respectively Nyāya and Vaiśeshika schools. There is a section known as Nayasoma[124] or Somasiddhānta started by Soma. The tradition of Somasiddhānta or Nayasoma from inscriptions and literature can be traced back to the fourth cent. A.D. Thus epigraphic data corroborates the literary tradition which seems to contain germs of truth. Somanātha might have been originally associated with Somasiddhānta.

Inscriptional Tradition:—The Bhadrakālī Temple (Prabhāsa-Paṭṭana) Ins. of the time of Kumārapāla, VAL. S. 850 (=1169 A.D.), describes the rebuilding of the shrine by Kumārapāla at the instance of Bhāva Bṛhaspati—a Pāśupata teacher of Ujjain. According to this inscription a golden temple was built by Soma, a silver temple by Rāvaṇa and a lithic temple by Bhīmadeva which, when dilapidated in course of time, was rebuilt as a *meru* by Kumārapāla.[125] The temple built by Bhīma was destroyed by foolish and avaricious

---

[122] *ABORI*, V, p. 170.

[123] सोमः सोऽस्तु जयी समरांगदहनो यं निर्म्मलं निर्म्ममे ।
गौर्याः शापबलेन वै कृतयुगे दृश्यत्वमोपेयुषां ।
प्रादात्पाशुपतार्यसाधुसुधियां यः स्थानमेतत्स्वयं
कृत्वा स्वामथ पढती (ति) शशिभृतो देवस्य तस्याज्ञया ॥३॥
—Prabhāsa Paṭṭana Ins. of Kumārapāla, VAL. S. 850 (=1169 A.D.), —*BI*, pp. 186–187.

[124] *JASB*, 1930; Tucci, *Pre-Diṅganāga Logic*, GOS, V.

[125] सौवर्णं सोमराजो रजतमयमथो रावणोदारवीर्यः
कूष्मश्रीभीमदेवो रुचिरतरमहाग्रावमीरत्नकूटम् ।
तं कालाज्जीर्णमेष क्षितिपतितिलको मेरुसंज्ञं चकार
प्रासादं सप्रभावं सकलगुणनिधेर्गण्डसर्वेश्वरस्य ॥१५॥ —*BI*, pp. 187 and 190.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

ministers of the king.[126] Bhīma II added a *meghadhvani maṇḍapa.*[127] In the reign of Śārṅgadeva, v.s. 1349, Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka built five temples to the north of the *maṇḍapa.*[128]

"Somanātha shrine, therefore, is like a finger of the earth raised up to point as it were that this city belongs to Śaṅkara."[129]

Thus, Somanātha Temple at Prabhāsa had become a famous Śaiva shrine much before the 10th century A.D. probably from the times of the Maitrakas as a short epigraph in Valabhī characters has been found in the excavation of Somanātha Temple.[130] But it may be noted that nowhere has it been called a *Jyotirliṅga.*

Somasiddhānta and Prabhāsa:—Thus in inscriptions and literary traditions Soma is said to have propagated his creed here. It, however, declined in course of time. Viśveśvararāśi, a partial incarnation of Śiva as a monk, therefore, obtained instructions from the Lord Śiva in dream and revived the Somasiddhānta doctrine at Prabhāsa where Lākulīśa Pāśupata was in vogue.[131]

---

[126]बहुकुमतिजगण्डैर्द्रव्यलोभाभिभूतैर्नृप कुसचिवैर्वृन्दैर्नाशितं स्थानमेतत्
सपदि तु गुरुगण्डेनोद्धृतं दंतकोटीस्थितधरणिवराहस्पर्द्धया लीलयेव ॥ —*Ibid.*

[127]तस्यानुजन्मा जयति क्षितीशः श्रीभीमदेवः प्रथितप्रतापः ।
अकारि सोमेश्वरमण्डयो यं येनात्रमेघध्वनिनामधेयम् ॥
—Prabhāsa-paṭṭana Ins. of the King Bhīma II, v.s. 1273, *BI*, p. 196.

[128]सोमेश्वरायतनमण्डयमुत्तरेण श्रीभाजिजीर्णघटिकालयसंनिधाने ।
श्रीकण्ठपंचमुखवासधिष्ठितानि येनाक्रियत कृतिनायतनानि पंच ॥८०॥ —*EI*, I, p. 284.

[129]श्रीसोमनाथायतनस्य रेखा भु (भू) मेरिवाद्धांगुलिरत्र भाति ।
अनन्यसाधारणशोभमेतत्पुरं पुरारेरिति सूचयन्ती ॥
—Prabhāsa Praśasti of Śrīdhara, *BI*, p. 195.

[130]"A stone lying in the core of Kumārapāla's masonry to the right of the main entrance and assumably misplaced, bears on it an inscription which on palaeographic ground is ascribable to the Valabhī period (A.D. 480–767). A superficial corroboration is also provided by the ceramic evidence."
—*Somanātha, the Shrine Eternal*, p. 114.

[131]कलौ युगे कुक्षितिपाललुप्तां धर्मस्थितिं वीक्ष्यपिनाकपाणि
विचष्ट संकेतवशाद्विवृत्तस्वस्थानकोद्धारधिया निजांशं ॥
श्रीसोमनाथ इति रजनीविरामे स्वप्नेषु विश्वेश्वरराशिसंज्ञं ॥१८
तात त्वमस्माकमिहावतीर्णस्त्रातुं निजं स्थानकमुग्रतेजाः
संचिन्तयन् वृत्तमिदं निशायां प्रातः पुनस्तत्पतिनार्थितः सन्
उद्धर्तुमिच्छन्नमृतांशुसंस्थामार्यो बभूवाथ सहस्ररश्मिः ॥२०॥
—*BI*, pp. 210 and 212.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Centre of Lākulīśa Doctrine:—Epigraphs record the tradition that Soma himself had given this place to the *āchāryas* of the Pāśupata assumably of the Lākulīśa sect.[132] In the time of Jayasiṁha, Prabhāsa was undoubtedly an important centre of this doctrine when Bhāva Bṛhaspati became the head.[133] It declined in the next generation but again became influential in the thirteenth century A.D. under Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka,[134] an *āchārya* of the Lākulīśa doctrine.

Śaivasiddhānta and Prabhāsa:—Prabhāsa is associated with the Śaivasiddhānta doctrine also. The Vaiśeshikas were the Śaivas of the Siddhānta school and Kaṇāda, the āchārya of the Vaiśeshikas got his initiation here. Kalachuri kings Yuvarājadeva I and Lakshmaṇarāja, who had Śaiva-siddhānta leanings, were devoted to the worship of Somanātha.[135] Vimalaśiva, the Śaiva-siddhānta pontiff, visited Prabhāsa and other places before taking to the life of a monk.[136]

Thus Prabhāsa-Somanātha was a famous sacred place during this period. It was associated with at least three Śaiva sects—(i) Somasiddhānta, (ii) Pāśupata of the Lākulīśa school, and (iii) Śaivasiddhānta.

Somanātha has nowhere in inscriptions been called a *Jyotirliṅga*. Inscriptions do not reveal any Vaishṇava association with the place.

5. KEDĀRA

Kedāra in Garhwal was a famous *tīrtha* during this period. The

---

The edition of the inscription translated *amṛtāṁśu saṁstha* as "abode of the (god with the) moon" which is evidently wrong. It means "the sect started by Soma". *See infra.*

[132]प्रादात्पाशुपतार्यं सुधियां यः स्थानमेतत्सधी स्वयं ॥३॥ —*BI*, p. 187.

Cf. The *Kārvaṇa Māhātmya* (G.O.S., XX, App. 4), p. 55.

सागरस्यतटेरम्ये प्रभासो नाम सुन्दरि। तस्य द्वादशमात्राभिः समान पट्टबंधनम्। सकलश्चैव योगैश्च प्रभासे यत्प्रकीर्त्तिताम्।

[133]*BI*, p. 186–87.

[134]*EI*, I, pp. 250–284.

[135]They were associated with the monks of the *Matta-mayūra* lineage and were the disciples of Śaiva pontiff of the Vāma-śambhu line.

[136]*EI*, XXV, p. 311 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Monghyr CP. of Devapāla of the year 33 (=843 A.D.) mentions the performance of religious rites at Kedāra by Dharmmapāla.[137] South Indian inscriptions mention it as one of the holiest cities.[138] A Mysore inscription of A.D. 1168 regards it as holier than Śrī-Śaila and second only to Vārāṇasī.[139] The Amareśvara Temple Ins.[140] of V.S. 1120 counts it as one of the Five Great Liṅgas. The Pujaripali Ins.[141] of Gopāladeva of the 11th century A.D. mentions Kedāra along with Prayāga, Pushkara etc. where the glory of Gopālavīra spread. Rājānaka Lakshmaṇachandra in 12th century A.D.[142] went to Kedāra on a pilgrimage and made several vows. The Cintra Praśasti[143] mentions the pilgrimage of Tripurāntaka, the ascetic who worshipped Śiva "with lotuses from *Brahmasaras*".

6. AMAREŚVARA AND OṂKĀREŚVARA

(A) **Amareśvara:**—By the middle of the eleventh cent. A.D. Amareśvara had become an important Śaiva *tīrtha* and was counted among the Five Great Liṅgas.[144] It was highly venerated by the Pāśupatas[145] and received royal patronage under the later Paramāras.

The Paramāra King Jayasiṁha[146] in 1192 V.S. (=1055 A.D.) had

---

[137]केदारे विधिनोपयुक्त पयसा गंगासमेताम्बुधौ ।
गोकर्णादिषु चाप्यनुष्ठितवतां तीर्थेषु धर्म्याः क्रियाः ॥७॥ —*EI*, XVIII, p. 305.

[138]*EI*, XIII p. 175.

[139]"An inscription of A.D. 1168 at Balagami (P.S.O.C. Ins. No. 185; see *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 111) describes the temple of Dakshiṇa-Kedāreśvara (line 30 f.) thus:

"Twice as sacred as even Vārāṇasī, a hundred times (more sacred) than even Kedāra, a thousand times (more sacred) than even Śrī-Parvata."

[140]*EI*, XXV, p. 185, v. 6.

[141]Hiralal, *Inscriptions of CP and Berar*, p. 169.

[142]*EI*. I, p. 222. Bhoja I Paramāra constructed temples at Kedāra, Somanātha, Rāmeśvara, Kālānala-Rudra (Mahākāla?) etc. according to the Udaipur Praśasti of the kings of Mālavā.

[143]ततः शुचिब्रह्मसरः सरोजैरानर्च केदारपदारविन्दे ॥२४॥ —*EI*, I, p. 282.

[144]*EI*, XXV, p. 185, v. 6.

[145]*Ibid.*, *ll.* 51–56. The shrine has been described as श्रीअमरेश्वरदेवस्यायतने त्रैलोक्य विश्रुतस्थाने देवदानवदुर्ज्जय देवगुरुन(त)पोधत(न)शूश्रूषारत(त), etc.

[146]*EI*, III, p. 40.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

granted a land gift to the Brāhmaṇas of a college in Amareśvara. King Jayavarmman[147] in 1150–61 sanctioned a land-grant after taking bath at Amareśvara-kshetra at the confluence of the Revā and Kapilā and worshipping the god Amareśvara. Similarly, in A.D. 1215 after taking ablutions in the confluence and worshipping Bhavānīpati, Oṁkāra and Lakshmīpati Arjunavarmman[148] donated a piece of land.

Amareśvara finds mention also in the *Matsya-purāṇa*.[149]

(B) **Oṁkāreśvara:**—It also figures in the list of the Five Great Liṅgas. The Māndhātā CP. of Arjunavarmman contains a reference to it. A Gadhaiya coin bearing the legend *Śrī-Oṁkāra*[150] on the reverse in two lines was issued, according to Indraji, by the temple-authorities of Oṁkāra-Māndhātā. It belongs to medieval period although its date cannot exactly be determined.

(C) **Oṁkāreśvara and Amreśvara:**—Both these shrines are in Māndhātā on the Narmadā river. The former is now-a-days highly venerated and is counted amongst the twelve *Jyotirliṅgas* while the latter is not so important. But it seems that in the 11th and 12th centuries Amareśvara was a very important shrine. Hence the area around it was known as *Amareśvara-kshetra* after it.[151] From the 13th cent. A.D. Oṁkāreśvara gained importance. The Jagannātha Rāya Temple Ins. of the 17th cent. A.D.[152] after cursorily disposing of Amareśvara describes in detail the worship of Oṁkāreśvara.[153]

---

[147]रेवायाः दक्षिणे कूले रेवाकपिलासंगमे चराचरगुरुं श्रीमदमरेश्वरदेवं पंचोपचारैः समभ्यच्र्य, etc. —*EI*, IX, p. 108 ff.

[148]*JAOS*, VII, p. 27.

[149]*Matsya P.*, CLXXXVI, 2.

[150]सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम् ।
उज्जयिन्यां महाकालमोंकारे परमेश्वरम् ॥ —*Śiva-purāṇa*, IV, l. 18.

[151]*EI*, IX, p. 106 ff.

[152]*EI*, XXIV, p. 75.

[153]There was a famous Amareśvara temple in South also. The Amarāvatī Ins. of Keta II (*EI*, II, p. 99) of Ś.E. 1104 mentions Amareśvara worshipped by the lord of gods (Indra) and the Yenamaṇḍala Ins. of Guṇapaṁbā describes the placing "of golden pinnacles on the shrine of Amareśvara" (*EI*, VI, p. 154). This shrine, however, was at Dhānyakaṭaka or Dhānyaṅkapura (Mod. Amarāvatī).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

7. MAHĀKĀLA

The shrine of Mahākāla mentioned by Kālidāsa, was perhaps the most famous Śaiva shrine of the Gupta Age. The Jain tradition evidences its greatness during this period as well.[154] Inscriptions, however, do not yield sufficient data to understand its importance fully.

However, according to an inscription of v.s. 999 a Pratihāra feudatory had, after taking bath in the temple of Mahākāla, sanctioned the grant of a village to the temple of Indrādityadeva.[155] The Panhera Ins. of the time of Jayasiṁha of Mālavā, v.s. 1116,[156] mentions the construction of a "snow-white temple of Dhaneśvara" near the temple of Mahākāla. The Amareśvara Temple Inscription,[157] v.s. 1120, counts Mahākāla among Five Great Liṅgas. The *Halāyudha Stotra* inscribed at the same place describes the destructive force of Mahākāla.[158] The Bhopāla CP. of Arjunavarmman, v.s. 1270(=1213 A.D.) records the gift of building "in the city of Mahākāla".[159] Some fourteenth century inscriptions mention pilgrimages to the shrine. The Jagannātha Rāya Temple Ins.[160] at Udaipur mentions the visit of Jagatsiṁha to this temple in the seventeenth century A.D. However, Kālapriya mentioned in the Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription may not be identified with Mahākāla.[161]

---

[154]Bhūyarāja or Bhūyad, the ancestor of Mūlarāja Solaṅkī had given the whole of Mālavā to Mahākāleśvara and appointed the Paramāras as protectors of the grant—

अथ प्रत्यूषे तान् यामिकान् सचिवैर्निगृह्यमाणा निवार्य मालवमण्डले महाकाल-देवप्रासादे गत्वा स्वयं देवमाराधयंस्तस्थौ । देवादेशाद्भुजद्वये लग्ने सति तं मालवदेशं सान्तःपुरं तस्मै देवाय दत्वा तद्रक्षाधिकृतान् परमार राजपुत्रान् नियोज्य स्वयमेव तापसींदीक्षामंगी चक्रे ।

—*Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, p. 11.

[155]*EI*, XIV, p. 187.

[156]*An. Rep. Rāj. Mus.*, 1916–17, p. 2; Bhandarkar's List No. 133.

[157]*EI*, XXV, p. 183.

[158]एकः स्रष्टा सकलजगतामादिभूतः स्वयम्भू स्त्राता तेषां त्रिभुवनगुरुर्व्वासुदेवः प्रसिद्धः यस्तौ द्वावप्यतुलमहिमा संहरत्यन्तकाले कस्तस्यान्यो भवति सदृशः श्रीमहाकालमूर्त्तेः ।

—*Ibid.*, p. 175.

[159]*JAOS*, VII, p. 32.

[160]*EI*, XXIV, p. 73.

[161]यन्माद्यद्दिपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्रांगणम् ।
तीर्णा यत्तुरगैरगाधयुमुना सिन्धुप्रति-स्पर्धिनी ॥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

8. BHĪMEŚVARA

The Jabalpur CP. of Yaśaḥkarṇa Deva, K.S. 829 (=1078 A.D.) describes the royal visit to Bhīmeśvara. "Extirpating with ease the ruler of Āndhra . . . he (Yaśaḥkarṇa) worshipped the holy Bhīmeśvara with many ornaments."[162] The shrine has been identified with the homonymous *Jyotirliṅga* at Drakshārāma (Godavari Dist.) supposed to be erected by Sūrya. The Drākshārāma shrine of Bhīmeśvara contains inscriptions dating back to 1055 A.D.

The epigraphic reference to Bhīmeśvara indicates that it was an important shrine worthy of royal visit in the eleventh cent. A.D. although it has not been mentioned in inscriptions as a *Jyotirliṅga*.

9. MALLINĀTHA,[163] TRYAṂBAKA[164] AND RĀMEŚVARA[165]

The Cintrā Praśasti of the reign of Śārṅgadeva describes the visit of Pāśupata ascetic Tripurāntaka to these shrines. Rāmeśvara is mentioned in the Pujaripali Inscription.[166]

10. OTHER JYOTIRLIṄGAS

Ghṛshṇeśvara has been identified with Guheśvara[167] of the Ellora

---

Altekar (*Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 102, n. 4) notes, "...it is not improbable that the first line refers to Kālpī, where still exists a temple of *Kālapriya*." See also *NJA*, III.

[162]Vide Jabalpur CP. of Yaśaḥkarṇa, K.S. 829 (=1078 A.D., v. 23). *EI*, II, p. 1 for identification. See also the *Godāvarī District Gazetteer*, 1907, p. 250.

[163]प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य सतां प्रदीपः श्रीपर्वतं य किल सर्वतोपि ।
श्रीमल्लिनाथस्य विलोकनेन कृतार्थ ··· ··· त्ते ॥२६॥ —*EI*, I, pp. 282–283.

[164]गोदावरीतीरविहारिणीभिर्वनस्थलीनामधिदेवताभिः ।
कृतार्थयन्नध्वगदृक्पयोजं यो जंगमस्त्र्यंबक ॥२६॥ —*Loc. cit.*

[165]ततः शमाद्वैतरसाभिरामे रामेश्वरं चेतसि चिन्तयन् यः ।
ददर्श लंकाधिपकालरात्रेः प्रस्थानवीथीमिव सेतुलेखां ॥३०॥ —*Loc. cit.*

[166]Hiralal, *Inscriptions of CP and Berar*, p. 169.

[167]एलः(ला)पुरव्यवस्थितेन ··· गुहेश्वरतीर्थस्नातेन
—*ll.* 10–16, *EI*, XXV, p. 29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CP. of Dantidurgga, Ś.E. 663. Dārukavana[168], where the shrine of Nāgeśa is situated, occurs in several inscriptions but the shrine itself has not been mentioned. Vaidyanātha as a name of Śiva occurs in inscriptions but the shrine of Vaidyanātha, which came to be regarded as a *Jyotirliṅga*, is not known from inscriptions.

11. EKĀMRA-BHUVANEŚVARA

Even before our period, Ekāmra-Bhuvaneśvara had become an important Śaiva place probably under the Śaiva monarch Śaśāṅka who is traditionally credited with the construction of a temple at Ekāmra[169] in the age of *Kali*. Paraśurāmeśvara and Śatrughneśvara

---

Cf. हिमालयं तु केदारं घृष्णेशं तु शिवालये ।
इलापुरीरम्यशिवालयेऽस्मिन् समुल्लसन्तं च जगद्वरण्यम् ।
वन्दे महोदारतरस्वभावं घृष्णेश्वराख्यं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥
—*JBBRAS*, X, pp. 4–6.

See also *ASWI*, V, p. 4. But for Elapurī as Verāvala see Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 319.

[168](a) भक्त्योपसन्नं स्थिरभक्तिगम्यः पद्मासनं दारुवनेतिरम्ये ।
—V. 6, *EI*, I, p. 354 ff.

(b) दारूद्याने द्विजवरवधूपल्वलो रेतसाग्नौ
होमः सन्ध्यानटनमिति ते चेष्टितं नैव दुष्टं(ष्टम्) । —*EI*, XV, p. 173.

(c) Cintra Praśasti—Here Dāruvana is mentioned in connection with mythological stories found in the *Purāṇas* also.

[169]प्राप्ते कलियुगे ब्रह्म(श्च)न्द्रो यास्यति मेदिनीम् । भूत्वामनुजनाथो सर्वैऽर्च्चयिष्यति लिंगकम् । भक्तितः प्रवरां पूजां कारयिष्यति सुव्रत । प्रासादं रुचिरं शुभ्रं शुद्धशैलमयन्तथा ॥ शशांकोऽनन्तमेधावी भविष्यन्ति शिवात्मकः । —*Ekāmra-purāṇa*, p. 102.

Also,

कलावतीत पादे च महीं यास्यति चन्द्रमा । शासयेत् पृथिवी भागं मद्भक्तोऽनन्यमानसः । यावत्कलिंगपर्यन्तं शशांकः पृथिवीपतिः । ममोपदेशकर्तासौ प्रसादं रुचिरं पृथुम् । —*Ibid.*, p. 365.

चन्द्रमा मुकुटाद्भ्रष्टो महीं यास्यति नचिरात् । तदासौ कुरुतेऽस्माकं प्रासादं शिवसम्मितम् ।
—*Ibid.*, p. 384–85.

K. C. Panigrahi (*JASB*, XV, pp. 115–18) for the first time drew attention to this tradition. The book *Ekāmra-purāṇa* has been published only in Oriya characters and was not available to me for consultation. The quotations above have been given from Panigrahi (*loc. cit.*). The tradition recurs in the *Ekāmra-Chandrikā* (p. 71) and *Kapila-Saṁhitā* (p. 78) also, and therefore seems to contain germs of historical truth.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

shrines may be assigned to his period (seventh century A.D.) on the basis of the palaeography of short undated inscriptions.[170]

(A) **Ekāmra:**—The name Ekāmra occurs in the Anantavāsudeva Ins. of Paramarddi, ś.E. 1200 (=1278 A.D.), which praises "the province of Utkala...where lies the holy place of Ekāmra... adorned with hundreds of mango-groves, wherein exists a single *devakula* (temple) surrounded by numerous temples." The epigraph describes "the holy place (*kshetra*) of Ekāmra as "very dear[171] to god Kṛttivāsa, well-known for bestowing divine achievements and always decorated with flowers of every season." The Brahmeśvara Ins. of Udyotakesarī-Mahābhavagupta IV also describes Ekāmra as a

---

[170](a) The Paraśurāmeśvara Temple Ins. (*EI*, XXVI, p. 125).
(b) Three small votive records (*Ibid.*)
(c) Inscribed labels in the *Navagraha* slab (*JASB*, XV, pp. 115–18).

The Paraśurāmeśvara Temple Ins. has been dated in ninth century A.D. The votive record contains a pre-Pāla form of *ṇa* where the upward and downward strokes have not changed into a single stroke as in the Pāla period. Similarly *pa* is that of the *Vardhana* period where the base line is slightly curved. The dental sibilant is, however, a bit later. The hook which forms the left limb is not joined to the right limb which is a straight line. Thus, these short votive inscriptions may be dated in the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The Navagraha slab as indicated by Panigrahi (*loc. cit.*) contains the dental sibilant of pre-Pāla period where the hook joins the right limb (but *contra* R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II) and hence may be dated in the seventh century A.D.

[171]अस्त्युत्कलो यं विषयो यत्र ते चक्षुरादयः ।
पंचपंचेषु सुहृदो भ्रान्ति पूर्णमनोरथाः ॥८॥
तत्र च क्षेत्रमेकाम्रमाम्रारामशताश्रितम् ।
एकं देवकुलं देवकुलैराकुलमद्भुतम् ॥९॥
स यत्र गिरिजापतिर्वसाति गन्धसिन्धोर्म्मिणा
न्निधाय निकटे धुनिममर सार्थं सार्थं प्रपां ।
यदन्वयकृपाभरान्नयधितकृत्तिवासाः त्रियं
महेन्द्रपदजित्वरीं सुभटचाड गंगेन ताम् ॥१०॥ —*OHRJ*, I, 1952, p. 282.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Siddhakshetra.[172]

(B) **Paraśurāmeśvara and Lākulīśa-Pāśupata School:**—The temple of Paraśurāmeśvara contains as many as three images of Lākulīśa—one is placed most prominently in the front facade over the chaitya-window, the other in the eastern facade over the principal niche of Kārttikeya in a chaitya-window and the last on the northern wall of the *Jagamohana*.[173]

This very strongly suggests that the temple was established by the adherents of the Lākulīśa-Pāśupatas. The ancient name of the temple Pārāśareśvara betrays Lākulīśa association—as Parāśara was one of the most important *āchāryas* in the line of Kuśika as known from the Mathurā Ins. of Chandra Gupta II.[174] The Votive Liṅgarāja Temple Ins. of Vīra Vara (?Nara) Kesarī (Siṁha) describes the king as an intelligent student of the principles and practices of the schools of Marīchi and Parāśara. Marīchi[175] is evidently the *āchārya* of the Vaikhānasa-tantra while Parāśara seems to be the *āchārya* of the Lākulīśa doctrine.

We do not have any inscribed temple belonging to the time of the Bhauma-Kāras.[176]

---

[172]एकाम्रे सिद्धक्षेत्रे चतुरमरकुली-चारुशालासमेतः
केदारे चैव यल्लिगं यच्च लिगं महालये। —*JASB*, XIII, 1947, p. 70.
मध्यमेश्वरसंज्ञंच तथा पाशुपतीश्वरम्। स्थानेश्वरमथैकाम्रं कामेश्वरमजेश्वरम्।
—*TK*, p. 37, as quoted from *Skanda P.*

[173]*Orissa Review*, 1949, p. 47. Ganguli, *Orissa and Her Remains*, pl. XIII.

[174]*EI*, XXXVI, p. 126.

[175]राजराज तनुजात्मजस्य म(मा)रि(री)चिपरास(श)राचारविचारचतुर वीरनरकेशरी धराधिपस्य।
—*OHRJ*, p. 302.

A temple known as Pārāśarīśvara at Vārāṇasī has been described in the *TK* as having Pāśupata affiliation:

महापाशुपता श्रेष्ठा मम पुत्रा महौजसः।
अन्यत् पश्चान्मुखं लिगं स्थितं तत्र तथोत्तरे।
तस्मिल्लिगे तु संसिद्धि पाराशर्योमहामुनिः। —*TK*, pp. 59–60.

[176]The Bhauma-Kāras were mainly Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School. It was perhaps under them that a fusion between the Pāśupatatantra and Vajrayāna was effected. A *liṅga* inscribed with the Buddhist formula beginning with "Ye dharmā" etc. was found at Soro (*OHRJ*, I, p. 273). Lākulīśa has been represented as the Buddha in Dharma-Chakra-Pravartana attitude in the Śiśireśvara which probably belongs to this period.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

The Brahmeśvara temple containing an epigraph was constructed in the reign-period of Udyota-Kesarī in the later half of the eleventh cent. A.D. Under these kings in the concluding quarter of the tenth cent. A.D., a new movement seems to have set in Orissa. These rulers were Smārta-Śaivas. They constructed the temples dedicated to various gods and made benefactions to Brāhmaṇas of different Vedic Schools. The Brahmeśvara temple is also of the Pañchāyatana type where along with the principal deity other gods were worshipped.

The story of Brahmeśvara-*liṅga* as given in inscriptions and literature indicates the subordination of the Brahmā cult by Śaivism. This feature is noted in other parts of the country also during this period when the Brahmā-cult was fast disappearing.

With the advent of the Gaṅgas who were devout Vaishṇavas a new movement started resulting in the synthesis of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. The Gaṅga kings are described as well-versed in the tāntric schools of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. The Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple Ins. of Paramarddi, Ś.E. 1200 (=1278 A.D.), strangely enough opens with an invocation to Śiva. The place Ekāmra is associated with Kṛshṇa and Balarāma also though it is described as eminently dear to Kṛttivāsa.

It may be noted however that the tradition of the Pāśupatas in Bhuvaneśvara continued. Bhāva Sadāśiva is mentioned in a votive inscription engraved in the Liṅgarāja temple.

The Kṛttivāsa shrine, Gandha-Sindhu river and Vindusara tank have been mentioned as most sacred in literature and inscriptions.

12. TĪRTHAS MENTIONED IN INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions contain references to Kurukshetra,[177] Arghyatīrtha,[178]

---

[177]Kurukshetra was regarded as one of the four holiest places in the Karṇāṭaka inscriptions. The Sumaṅgala (Chambi) CP. of Vidagdha mentions a Brāhmaṇa from Kurukshetra-tīrtha. It may be noted that this *tīrtha* was regarded specially sacred at the time of solar eclipse. Sahilladeva was styled Karivarsha because he undertook a pilgrimage to Kurukshetra at the time of solar eclipse.

[178]According to Karṇāṭaka inscriptions it is the fourth holiest place in the country. The Goharwa CP. of Chedi Karṇadeva records a grant given by the king after taking bath in the Gaṅgā at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Goharṇa,[179] Pṛthūdaka,[180] Kāyāvotāra,[181] Kuśika,[182] Ayodhyā,[183] Indraprastha, Gaṅgādvāra,[184] Gaṅgāsāgara,[185] Tretā-tīrtha,[186] Kālakaleśvara-tīrtha,[187] Jagannāthapurī,[188] Koṇārka,[189] Gavīdhu-

---

Arghyatīrtha. The place could not be identified. It is mentioned in the *Garuḍa*, *P.* 1. 81. 7.

[179]As a *tīrtha*, it is mentioned in course of the Northern expedition of Dharmapāla (*EI*, XVIII, p. 304; *GL*, p. 33). The Jabalpur Ins. of Vimalaśiva (*EI*, XXV) makes a reference to it. Besides minor places bearing this name, there are two important *tīrthas*:—

(i) Gokarṇa in the Himālayas where Bhagīratha performed austerities (*Rāmā.*, I, XL, 13); *Rāvaṇa* also performed austerities at Gokarṇa (*Rāmā*, VII. 19).
This Gokarṇa seems to be in Nepal. See *IC*, IV, p. 264.

(ii) There is a Gokarṇa in N. Kanar of Bombay Presidency also. See Dey, *Geog. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India, sub voce* and *HD*, IV, p. 754. One Gokarṇeśvara is mentioned in Viśālapur Stone Ins., v.s. 1231. —*ASI, AR*, pp. 156–157.

[180]*EI*, I, p. 187.

[181]Nausāri CP. of Jayabhaṭa III, KS, 456, *IA*, XIII, pp. 77–81.

[182]Same as Kānyakubja:

तीर्थानि कासि(काशि)कशिकोत्तरकौशलेन्द्र-
स्थानीयकानि परिपालयिताऽधिगम्यः ॥ —*EI*, IX, pp. 304–305.

For Kānyakubja as a *tīrtha* see Pehoa Ins., *EI*, I, p. 187 ff.

[183]उत्तरकोशलाभिधानायामयोध्यायां · · जनित सरयूघर्घराघमर्षणे स्वर्गद्वारिनाम्नितीर्थे स्नात्वा ।
—*EI*, XIV, p. 193.

[184]गंगाद्वारन्ततो गत्वा वर्षाण्यष्टादशस्थितः ।
अन्ते यानशनंहुत्वा स्वर्गलोकं समागतः ।

[185]*EI*, XVII, p. 304; *GL*, p. 33.

[186]*Ibid.*, V, p. 20.

[187]*EI*, XVIII, p. 71 ff.

[188]गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमो भगवतोः हृद्यः प्रतिष्ठापदं
पारावारतटेपटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वं वितितार तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोल्लसिते
स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमायक्षणम् । —*EI*, II, p. 334.
वैलायां दक्षिणाब्धेर्मुपलधरगदा पाणिसंवेशवेद्यां
येनोच्चैर्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्तम्भमालान्यधामि ॥१४॥ —*IB*, p. 1444.

[189]Known as Koṇakaṇa, *JASB*, LXV, p. 229 ff., *DHNI*, I, p. 482.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

mati,[190] Gundakūrcha,[191] Gotīrtha,[192] Āmarddaka-tīrtha,[193] Pushkara,[194] Brahmasaras,[195] Dāruvana,[196] Mūlasthāna,[197] Ṛshabhadeva-tīrtha[198] and Māhishmatī.[199]

13. HOLY RIVERS OF NORTHERN INDIA

Besides Gaṅgā, all rivers had regional importance. If Lauhitya was regarded extremely sacred in Assam, Narmmadā was the holiest river in Madhya Pradesh and Sarasvatī was the most sacred in the Lower Punjab. Gaṅgā, however, was worshipped in the whole country.

Previously, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī were regarded as the three holiest rivers but at the concluding period of this age, Narmmadā seems to have been included in the trinity at the cost of Yamunā.[200]

---

[190]*EI*, I, p. 182.
रम्ये गवीधुमतिसंततवेदव्याख्यानघोष
व(ब)धिरीकृतदिङ्मुखेस्मिन् ॥१५॥

[191]*Ibid.*, XI.

[192]*Ibid.*, I, 187.

[193]*Ibid.*, I, p. 355, v. 9.

[194]*CPIM*, p. 170.

[195]ततः शुचि ब्रह्मसरः सरोजैरानर्चकेदारपदारविन्दे ॥२४॥ —*EI*, I, p. 282.

[196]See *supra*.

[197]*EI*, I, p. 25.

[198]Ujjain Grant of Vākpatideva, v.s. 1031, *IA*, VI, p. 51 ff. N. J. Kirtane, who edited the grant, remarks that Piśācha-tīrtha remains till this day "on the Narmmadā".

[199]Māndhātā CP. of Devapāla, v.s. 1218 (=1225 A.D.).
—*EI*, IX, p. 108 ff.

[200]एकामूर्त्ति महेशस्य कारणान्तरमागता ।
एतेषां तु पृथग्भावं ये कुर्वन्तिसुमोहिताः ॥
तेषां धर्मे कुतः सिद्धिर्जायते पापकर्मिणाम् ।
एकमेतामहान्यस्तिस्रो रुद्रसमुद्भवाः ॥
एका एव विधाभूता गंगारेवा सरस्वती ।
गंगातु वैष्णवी मूर्त्तिः सर्वपाप-प्रणाशिनी ॥
रुद्रदेव-समुद्भूता नर्मदा चैकमेवतु ।
ब्राह्मी सरस्वती मूर्त्तिस्त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ॥
यथा गंगा तथा रेवा तथा चैव सरस्वती ।
समं पुण्यफलं प्रोक्तं स्नान मज्जनचिन्तनैः ॥ —*Skanda P.*, Revā, XXIII.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(A) **Gaṅgā** :—Since very early times the Gaṅgā has been regarded as the holiest river of the country. With a view to suggesting holiness in other rivers, they were styled as Gaṅgā. Thus Prince of Wales Museum CP. of Chālukya Vijayāditya[201] Ś.E. 653 mentions the Godāvarī simply as Gaṅgā while the Partabgarh CP. of Mahendrapāla[202] describes the river as Kāhikī-Gaṅgā.

Karṇāṭaka inscriptions, as already noted, mention Gaṅgā as one of the four greatest sanctifying *tīrthas*. It sanctifies all the three worlds.[203]

The Gaṅgā is recognised both in the Smārta and Āgamic traditions.

(a) *Smārta Rites and the Gaṅgā*:—Kings were anointed with its water at the time of coronation.[204] Donations were made after taking bath in it.[205] Annual *śrāddhas* were performed[206] on its bank. The Smārta works highly extol the performance of them on the bank of the river.

(i) *Gaṅgā and Maṅgalaghaṭa*:—Inscriptions describe Śiva's matted hair with the Gaṅgā moving about, as a *maṅgalaghaṭa*. The Malhar Ins. of Jājalladeva invokes *Śambhu* who, wearing on his head like *aṁbu-pallava* (foliage) a mass of braided hair, spreading around the lustre like that of a blazing lamp (*pradīpa*) placed on *mallikā* (flower-garland) by his third eye on forehead and covered

---

[201]*EI*, XXV, p. 23.

[202]*Ibid.*, XIV, p. 182 ff., *ll.* 11 and 12.

[203]धारयोच्दृतयासार्ध दधातिस्म त्रिधारताम् । सांयुगीनस्य यस्यासिस्त्रातुं लोकत्रयीमिव ।
—*EI*, IX, p. 108.

There is a pun of *tridhāratā* which means (a) three streams of the Gaṅgā and (b) the three edges of sword.

Uttaravāhinī Gaṅgā : The Gahaḍavāla record:

"तस्मात् सहस्रगुणितायत्र चोत्तरवाहिनी"

The *Saṁkalpa*:

अद्य पश्चिमवाहिनी-गंगास्नानजन्य-पुण्य-सहस्रगुण
पुण्यप्राप्तिकाम उत्तरवाहिन्यां गंगायां स्नानमहं करिष्ये ।
—J. B. Chaudhuri, *Gaṅgā Vākyāvalī*, p. 182.

[204]गंगाजलधौतपरमपवित्रकृतोत्तमांगी · · · महादेवी । —*EI*, IX, p. 314.
Also पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरत्थ्यमलजलमूर्धाभिषिक्तानाम् । —Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[205]Numerous grants of the Gahaḍavāla kings were made on the bank of the Gaṅgā. See *Supra*.

[206]*EI*, II.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

with the streams of water of the high waves of the celestial river, possesses the beauty of *maṅgala-ghaṭa*.[207]

Maṅgala or *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* was symbolic of river-goddesses in the *Varuṇa-pūjā*. River-goddesses in Smārta rituals have got a sanctifying purpose which is well-demonstrated by *ghaṭas* they are represented as having in their hands. The conception of the *maṅgala-ghaṭa* is found in the Vedas[208] and was very popular in the Gupta and medieval periods.

These *maṅgala-ghaṭas* are sometimes represented as being borne by Nāgarājas flanking the goddess earth on the pedestal of the sanctum.[209] In Ceylon, Nāgarājas gracefully standing in *tribhaṅga* pose as *dvārapālas* carry the *ghaṭas*.[210] This may show the original purpose of the *Nadī-devatās* flanking the sanctum as door-keepers. The above-quoted verse from inscription associates the Gaṅgā with *maṅgala-ghaṭa*.

(ii) *Gaṅgā—A Śālabhañjikā*:—An unpublished Kālañjara (Nīlakaṇṭha Temple) Ins. invokes Śiva as Sthāṇu, i.e. a pillar (and immutable highest reality) in which *Haimavatī-Pārvatī* is the *Śālabhañjikā* and the Gaṇgā the floral design (*patrapatākā*) over it.[211]

Curiously enough, the Gaṅgā occurs as *Śālabhañjikā* in early

---

[207]मूर्द्धन्यस्तजटाम्बु (म्बु) पल्लवचयो भालस्थली मल्लिका-
तार्तीयिक्षणहव्यवाह-विस्रज्ज्वाला प्रदीपद्युतिः ।
सम्पूर्णः सुरसिन्धुतुंगलहरी-वारिप्रवाहैरसौ
शम्भुर्मंगल कुम्भविभ्रमपदं वि (बि) भ्रत्सदा पातु वः ॥

[208]पूर्णनादि प्रभरं कुम्भमेतं घृतस्य धाराभमृतेन संभृताम् ।
इमां पातृनममृतेनासमंगधीष्टापूर्तममि रक्षात्येनाम् ॥ —*Atharva*, III, 12, 8.
"O fair damsel, bring hither to us the Pūrṇakumbha, filled with streams of clarified butter, blend with nectar. Bedew these drinkers with a draught of *amṛta*. May the reward of our pious works (*ishṭāpūrtta*) guard this dwelling." *RV*., X, 32, 9 mentions it. (See *JUPHS*, XVII, pp. 1–5.) Kālidāsa refers to it in the *Raghu*. (v. 68) as "beautiful new tent with auspicious overflowing pots at the eastern entrance".

अत्युन्नतस्तनयुगा तरलायताक्षी द्वारिस्थिता तदुपायनमहोत्सवाय ।
सा पूर्णकुम्भ नवनीरज तोरण स्रक् सम्भारमंगलमयत्नकृतं विधत्ते ॥
—*MASI*, LXXIII, p. 5.

[209]As for example in the temples at Khajurāho.

[210]*MASI*, LXXIII, p. 5.

[211]गंगापत्रपताका हैमवती शालभंजिका यस्मिन् ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

sculptures.[212] This motif, however, is found in neither the Vedas nor in the Smārta literature and smacks of early ophiolatery.[213] Later on the two motifs, it seems, were dovetailed together to form the new pattern of the Gaṅgā—a river-goddess door-keeper.

(iii) *Gaṅgā on the Door-Jamb*:—The Baijnath Ins.[214] of Rājānaka Lakshmaṇadeva records that images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā were placed on the doors of the temple. This had been a feature of temples since the Gupta period, but then they were carved at the top of the door and had decorative purpose. Later on, they flanked the entrance of the sanctum as door-keepers (*dvāra-devatās.*).

The *Āgamas* describe the worship (*dhyāna*)[215] of these goddesses as *dvāra-devatās* and this would indicate that they formed a part in the ritualistic scheme and had gathered a religious import.

(iv) *Independent Worship of Gaṅgā*:—The Ajaigarh Ins. of the Chandella Vīravarmmadeva directly invokes Gaṅgā just at the outset indicating thereby that the river-goddess was regarded as the cult-deity.[216] It may be noted that the inscription commemorates

---

[212] *Rūpam*, 1921, p. 5.

[213] According to Śivarāmamūrti *Śālabhañjikā* as noted by Pāṇinī simply meant a kind of game in which girls gathered flowers from *śāla*. Gradually game shifted to the background and the sculptural motif continued. Quoting the *Buddhacharita* (V. 52) he remarks "as the *Śāla* tree cannot be expected in the case of a woman at the window the connotation of the term *Śālabhañjikā* has already undergone a change."

[214] द्वारस्थगंगायमुनादिमूर्त्तिः कृता पुरीयं सहमण्डपेन । —*EI*, I, p. 106.

[215] *Dhyāna* in *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati* (III, p. 102)—

गंगा तुंगस्वतरंगाच्छवर्ण्णं दिव्याकारा युवतिर्दक्षिणे स्यात् ।
गौराकल्पा द्विभुजाम्भोजहस्ता वन्दन्यो(न्या)न्यस्फुटवागैकपाणिः ॥२०॥

Mantra is ओं गंगायै नमः (*loc. cit.*).

The *mudrā* of Gaṇgā in the *Jayākhya*, p. 76, is as follows:

वाचाच्चानामिका प्राग्वत् कृत्वा गांगस्य विद्धिताम् ।
दक्षिणाघामुनुस्योक्ता मुद्रा बीजस्य नारद ॥८७॥

The *Mantra* is also given in the *Jayākhya* (p. 62).

The Gaṅgā and Yamunā are regarded as the *Māyā* and *Chit*, Śaktīs of Śiva—मायाशंकिंच चिच्छक्तिंच गंगां च यमुनान्तथा (the *Merutantra* as quoted in the *Puraścharyārṇava*).

[216] अर्द्धमीशतनोर्दृष्ट्वा शिलोच्चयसुता हृतम् ।
ईर्ष्येव कृशा शीर्षे पातु वोऽमरवाहिनी ॥ —*EI*, I, p. 327.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

the excavation of a water-reservoir when river-goddesses are worshipped as cult-deities and not as purifiers. Several inscriptions invoke the Gaṅgā as a benediction.[217]

Separate images of the Gaṅgā in clay and stone have been discovered at several places.[218] The *dhyāna* and *mantra* of Gaṅgā in separate worship have also been devised.[219]

(b) Sarasvatī:—As a river-goddess, Sarasvatī was recognised as early as the *Ṛgveda*.[220] Although, she was identified with the Goddess of Learning and consort of Brahmā, her separate character as a river-goddess also survived.

(a) *As a River-Goddess in Inscriptions*:—The Pehoa Ins. of Mahendrapāla[221] invokes Sarasvatī thus: "water of whose (stream)

---

[217]वेगोद्भूतार्यमादिग्रहगगनतलं व्याप्नुवाना जलौघैः
न्यक्कुर्वाणा स[मु]द्रा[न्] क्षयवन्नित जलानूर्म्ममाला सहस्रैः ।
देयादभ्यर्थितं वः शशधरधवला स्वर्धुनी चन्द्रमौलै-
र्म्मौलो लीलां वहन्ति स्फुटविकटजटाव[ब]न्धने चीरिकायाः ।

—Harsha Stone Ins. of Vigraharāja, v.s. 1630, *EI*, II, p. 116 ff. But the invocation to the river goddess is not as a cult-deity but as a member of Śaiva pantheon.

शेषाहेरिव ये फणाः प्रविल[स]न्त्युआस्वरेन्दुत्विषः
प्रालेयाचलशृंगकोटय इव स्वर्गान्ति येऽत्युन्नताः ।
नृत्ताटोपवि-घट्टिता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाम्भव-
स्ते सर्व्वाघविघातिनः सुरसरितोयोर्म्मयः पान्तु वः ॥२॥

[218]Stone images are discovered at Īśvarapur (Jessore), Deopārā, Dināj apur and Triveṇī (Hooghly) (*HBD*, p. 462 ff.; *Rūpam*, 1921, p. 58; *JRASBL*, II, pp. 13–14; for terracotta figures see *Ancient India*, IV, p. 133, *ASI*, *AR*, LVI).

[219]चतुर्भुजांत्रिनेत्रांच सर्वाभरणभूषिताम् ।
रत्नकुम्भसिताम्भोजवरदाभय सत्करम् ॥ —*Puraścharyārṇava*, III, p. 88.
ओं नमः शिवायै नारायणायै · · · गंगायै स्वाहा ।
—*Puraścharyārṇava*; see *Rupam*, 1921, p. 6.

[220]The *Nirukta* II. 23 remarks that Sarasvatī means both a river and a deity. It is interesting that *Śākapūṇi* (who is earlier than Yāska) in his *Nirukta* as quoted by Skandasvāmī on *RV*, VI. 61. 2, says that Sarasvatī as river has been mentioned four times in the *RV* (तथा च शाकपूणिना नद्यभिधायिनः सरस्वतीशब्दस्य परिगणेन-अर्थेषानदी । चत्वार एव तस्या निगदा भवन्ति । *K. B. Pathak Com. Vol.*, p. 26). In *RV*, II. 41. 16. Sarasvatī is called the best of the rivers and goddesses. (नदीतमे देवीतमे सरस्वती ।)

[221]*EI*, I, p. 244 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

entirely cuts (bond of misery)—(that water which is) a boat (for crossing the ocean of births), a chariot for travelling among the road of gods, a cloud such as appears on the destruction of the worlds shedding copious showers on the fire of . . . the virtues (and) a sun to destroy thick mud-like darkness of a concatenation of various diseases". Another inscription[222] informs us of the construction of temples on its bank.

(b) *In Dharma Śāstra Literature*:—Sarasvatī is one of the holiest seven rivers—Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī—which are invoked to sanctify water for worshipper's bath. It ranks with Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Narmmadā in holiness.[223] Gaṅgā, Narmmadā and Sarasvatī are regarded as the three forms of a single river originated from Śiva and associated with trinity.[224]

(c) *In Sculptures*:—The three-headed river goddess appearing over the head of the Gaṅgādhara-*murtti* in Elephanta[225] has been explained as Gaṅgā with Yamunā and Sarasvatī. At Chittor tower, Sarasvatī is represented as standing with a *ghaṭa* upon fish by the side of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[226]

(d) *Sarasvatī and Pūrṇa-ghaṭa*:—A clay seal at Bhiṭā with a *ghaṭa*[227] on pedestal and the legend Sarasvatī in the character of the fifth century A.D. and another at Rājaghāt containing a beautiful figure

---

[222]*Ibid.*, p. 184 ff.

[223]*Matsya P.* (186, 11) remarks.

त्रिभिः सारस्वतं तोयं सप्ताहेन तु यानमुम् ।
सद्यः पुनाति गांगेयं दर्शनादेव नार्मदम् ॥

[224]*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XII, p. 176. Narmmadā, Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā are the three river-goddesses:

ब्राह्मी सरस्वती मूर्त्ति वैष्णवी त्रिपथा स्मृता ।
नर्म्मदा शांकरीमूर्त्तिर्नद्यस्तिस्रस्त्रिदेवताः ॥ —*Ibid.*, III.

[225]"On the head of Śiva is a triple-headed goddess who is in all probability the triple river Gaṅgā after she was joined by Yamunā and Sarasvatī branches." Gopīnath Rao, II, i, p. 318. But they may be Gaṅgā, Revā and Sarasvatī.

[226]*AC*, p. 219.

[227]*ASI, AR*, 1912–11, p. 52, Pl. XVIII; J. N. Banerji (*DHI*, p. 213) notes that "the goddess of learning is thus represented here by means of ghaṭa". I beg to differ from the renowned scholar for the reasons enumerated above. Sarasvatī here is the river-goddess.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

of *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa* with foliage (*Aṁbu-pallava*) coming out of it on a pedestal and the legend *Sārasvata* below in the letters of the same period represent Sarasvatī, the river-goddess, by the symbol of *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa*.

(C) **Narmmadā:**—An early literary tradition represents the river-godess as wife of Purukutsa and daughter of *Somapā pitṛs* or *Soma*, the *moon*.[228] Later on she was regarded as Kumārī originated from the abode of Śiva,[229] and lastly she was represented as originating from Rudra himself, as second only to Gaṅgā in sacredness, as the Gaṅgā of the south and as a form of the Gaṅgā.[230]

(i) *Narmmadā in Inscriptions:*—The Mandasor Ins. of Yaśo-dharmman-Vishṇuvarddhana,[231] v.s. 589 (=A.D. 532) refers to the origin of the Narmmadā from moon. The Rewa Ins.[232] of Malaya-

---

[228]नर्मदा भातृमिर्दत्ता पुरुकुत्साय योरगैः ।
आज्यया नाम पितरः कर्दमस्य प्रजापतेः ॥ —*Bh. P.*, IX, 72.
एतेषां मानसी कन्या नर्मदा सरितां वरा ।
सामावयति भूतानि दक्षिणापथगामिनि ॥४८॥ —*Vāyu P.*, LXXIII.

The *Vayū P.* describes it as the daughter of the *Somapā pitṛs*:

पितृणां दुहिता पुण्या नर्मदा सरितां वरा ॥३२॥ —*Ibid*, LXXII.

But see the *Amarakosha*, I, *Vārivarga*, 32. (रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका ।)

[229]*Matsya*, CLXXXVIII, 91.

[230]उत्तरे जाह्नवीदेशे महापातकनाशिनी । भवामि दक्षिणे मार्गे यद्येवं सुरपूजिता ।
स्वर्गादागम्य गंगेति यथा ख्याता क्षितौ विभो । तथादक्षिणगंगेति भवेयं त्रिदशेश्वर ॥
—*Skanda-purāṇa*, IV.
एका मूर्त्तिमहेशस्य कारणान्तरमागता । एतेषान्तु पृथग्भावं ये कुर्वन्ति सुमोहिताः ॥
तेषां धर्मे कुतः सिद्धिर्जायते पापकर्मिणाम् । एवमेता महानद्यस्तिस्रो रुद्रसमुद्भवाः ॥
एका एव त्रिधा भूता गंगा रेवा सरस्वती । etc. —*Ibid.*, XXIII.

[231]हिमवत इव गांगस्तुंग नम्रः प्रवाहः
शशभृत इव रेवावारिराशि प्रथीयान् ॥११॥ —Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

[232]अतिविमलजलौघैः प्लावयन्ती पवित्रै र्मुनिवर पुरलोकात्संस्तुता सिद्धगीर्भिः ।
अपनयति सुवंशज्जातमात्रा कुमारी कलिजकलुषभारं दर्शनान्नर्मदा या ॥४॥
—*MASI*, XXIII, p. 133.

The translation of R. D. Banerji does not bring out the sense of Kumārī with relation to Narmmadā. That the Narmmadā removes the sin merely by sight occurs in the *Matsya* CLXXXVI also:

त्रिभिः सारस्वतं तोयं सप्ताहेन तु यामुनम् ।
सद्यः पुनाति गांगेय दर्शनादेव नार्मदम् ॥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

siṁha, K.S. 944 (=1192 A.D.) invokes the Narmmadā worshipped by sages, the virgin goddess which flows with pure sacred mass of water from the abode of Śiva, i.e. Amarakaṇṭaka, like a virgin of noble family and as one which removes sin merely by sight. Thus, by the twelfth century A.D. the Narmmadā was regarded as a very sacred virgin river-goddess.

(ii) *Narmmadā in Sculptures:*—Images of the Narmmadā are few. A four-handed goddess holding lotus and mace seated on *makara* in the Chausaṭha Yoginī temple at Bherāghāṭa has been identified with the Narmmadā by Cunningham[233] and Majumdar.[234] The identification, however, is doubtful.

Another image representing a four-handed goddess standing in *dvibhaṅga* on a lotus holding in *dakshiṇāvarta* way lotus, *kamaṇḍalu*, a rosary in *varada* and *abhaya* mudrās wearing *yajñopavīta* and ornaments has been found at Tewar by the side of Narmmadā temple. Below the lotus-pedestal is a bearded sage in meditation. On the left of the goddess is a female attendant with a *ghaṭa* in one hand and on the right is another female-attendant with a fly-whisk. It has been identified with the Narmmadā simply because it has been found near the Narmmadā temple.[235] But in the light of the Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha, which represents the Narmmadā as a virgin river-goddess attended by the *siddhas*, the identification seems to be correct. This is an earlier or we may say eleventh-twelfth century form of Narmmadā.

A small statue of a four-armed goddess worshipped as Narmmadā

---

[233]*CASR*, IX, p. 67, No. 35.

[234]*BV*, XII, p. 176; the identification was due to a label inscribed on the pedestal which was read by Cunningham as *Rikshiṇī* i.e. a river which rises from the Ṛkshavān Mt. But the correct reading is *Rūpiṇi*. See *CASR*, IX. pl. XVI, No. 35. Also R. D. Banerji in *MASI*, XXIII, p. 90, No. 79. Moreover, the goddess is holding a mace.

[235]A *ghaṭa* held by a female attendant, *varada-abhaya* postures and lotus held by the figure indicate river-goddess; *kamaṇḍalu* and *yajñopavīta* point to the virginhood of the goddess. Images of *siddhas* in meditation are also significant. The image is therefore of a virgin river-goddess worshipped by the *siddhas*. The find-spot would also suggest it to be an image of the Narmmadā.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Mai at Tewar[236] and a sculpture found on the bracket in the gateway of Dabhoi[237] represent the goddess on *makara*. In the beautiful Dabhoi image, the river-goddess is riding over a fanciful crocodile (and not standing over as the Gaṅgā) which exactly tallies with the *dhyāna* as found in the *Skanda-purāṇa*.[238] This image materially differs from the earlier one and the attempt to identify the Narmmadā with the Gaṅgā is clearly visible as the same *vāhana* crocodile is given to the former.

(D) **Lauhitya-Brahmaputra:**—Lauhitya-sindhu or Vāridhi or Bhaṭṭāraka[239] is invoked in inscriptions from the times of Vanamāla in Assam as a holy river the water of which removes sins.[240] It is described to have originated from the body of Brahmā and is called Lauhitya because blood (*lohita*) was washed in it from his battle-axe by Paraśurāma after killing the Kshatriyas.[241] A long description of the rivers in the ornate style occurs in the Tejpur CP. of Vanamāla.[242]

Invocation to Lauhitya begins with Vanamāla and is conspicuous by its absence in earlier inscriptions. This would, therefore, indicate that Lauhitya-worship was duly recognised during this period.

---

[236]*CASR*, IX, p. 58. Cunningham says, "It is more probably a figure of Gaṅgā from one of the old temples." But *Ibid.*, p. 67 where he is inclined to identify it with the Narmmadā.

[237]*BV*, XII, pp. 172–177.

[238]मकरासन-समारूढ़ा प्रत्यक्षा सप्तकल्पगा ॥१२॥ —*Skanda P.*, Revā, xxv.
श्यामवर्णा महादेवी सर्वाभरणभूषिता ।
मकरासन समारूढ़ा शिवस्याग्रे व्यवस्थिता ॥३६॥ —*Ibid.*, Ch. III.

[239]Lauhitya-vāridhi, in the Nowgong Ins. of Balavarmman (*KS*, p. 73), Lauhitya-sindhu in the Tejpur Ins. of Vanamāla (*Ibid.*, p. 59) and Baragaon Ins. of Ratnapāla (*Ibid.*, p. 81) and Lauhitya-bhaṭṭāraka in Tejpur Ins. of Vanamāla (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

[240]सुरकरिमदचन्द्रंकितं सलिलं लौहित्यवारिधेरमलम् ।
कैलासकटकमृगमरवासित [म][प]हरतु दुरितं वः ॥२॥
—Nowgong Ins. of Balavarmman, *KS*, p. 73.

[241]यद्वारिराम परशोनृपकण्ठ काण्ड लावस्य धौतघनलोहितपंकमासीत् ।
लौहित्य इत्यधिपतिः सरितां स एष ब्रह्मांगभून्नुदतु व कलिकल्मष[ा]णि । —*KS*, p. 59.
The origin of Lauhitya is given in the *Kālikā-purāṇa* (LXXXIII):
ब्रह्मकुण्डात् सृतः सोऽथ कासारे लोहिताह्वये ।
कैलासोपत्यकायान्तुऽन्यपतद्ब्रह्मणः सुतः ॥३०॥

[242]*KS*, p. 83.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(E) **The River-Goddesses of the Punjab**[243]:—The Salhi inscribed fountain slab of the time of Rājānaka Rudrapāla, 1170, A.D. contains Vaikuṇṭha as Śeshaśāyī in the middle, the Lokapālas Īśa, Indra and Varuṇa with Gaṇapati and Skanda in the upper row and four river-goddesses by the side of Vaikuṇṭha in the middle and the other four in the last row. To dispel doubts regarding identification, the sculptor has cut out the names in the *ghaṭas* that river-goddesses hold. All of them hold *ghaṭas* in their left or right hand as their positions with regard to Vaikuṇṭha necessitated. They are identically carved, the only differentiating feature being the *vāhana*, over which they stand. They are as follows:—

(a) *Gaṅgā*:—To the right of Vishṇu on *makara*.
(b) *Vitastā* (inscribed as *Veṭha*):—To the right of Gaṅgā on fish.
(c) *Yamunā* (as *Jamunā*):—To the left of Vaikuṇṭha on crocodile.
(d) *Sindhu*:—To the left of Yamunā.
(e) *Vipāśā*:—Extreme left in the last row on a "hippocamp such as frequently occurs on Graeco-Buddhist sculptures".
(f) *Sutlaj* (as *Śataludra*):—Extreme right (*vāhana* lost).
(g) and (h) were probably *Rāvī* and *Chandrabhāgā*, other two important rivers, but the *ghaṭa* and the *vāhana* both are lost and hence one cannot be definite.

[243] *AC*, pp. 219–220.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Chapter 5

VOWS AND FESTIVALS

The observance of *vratas* (vows) and the celebration of *utsavas* (festivals) are primarily communal functions. They express major trends and strands in popular religious culture. Their evolution may indicate rise and fall of various socio-religious tendencies whereas their analysis may unfold different elements of socio-religious complex.

The vital urge to the development of Brāhmaṇical religious culture of early medieval period was chiefly derived from the Vedic tradition and Āgamic cults. Their contacts, conflicts and *rapprochement* may be traced back to very early times. From the Gupta period, the *Āgamas* vigorously asserted themselves. After the destruction of the Gupta empire, the Vedic tradition both of recitation (*svādhyāya*) and of rituals considerably declined in Northern India. The Smārtas continued the modified Vedic tradition. The Paurāṇikas tried to effect a synthesis of these two major strands.

In this general context of religious conditions, an analysis and evolution of vows and festivals may indicate the particular popular trends.

These vows and festivals are mentioned and described in scriptures, inscriptions and classical literature. Scriptures generally present an ideal picture and literature gives at best the modified portrayal. Inscriptions, on the other hand, give us a real picture, though as a silhouette yet in the reliable frame of time and space.

A survey of the *vratas* and *utsavas* as known from inscriptions may be of some sociological interest also.

1. *VRATAS* (VOWS OR AUSPICIOUS OCCASIONS)

The Vedic *vratas* associated with the rituals and recitations of the Vedas are not mentioned in inscriptions.[1] They seem to have receded

[1]The phrase *ārya-vrata* occurs in *RV*, X, 65, 11. It, however, means 'a sum-total of social and religious duties of the Aryans or ethical

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

into background. The Smārta *vratas* in the beginning consisted mainly in the observance of certain religious practices on occasions of astronomical significance—the planetary transits, eclipses, equinoxes, full- and new-moon days, etc. Later on, however, the *vratas* of devotional significance and Āgamic origin were also introduced into the Smārta fold.[2]

In the Gupta epigraphs, some of these Smārta and Āgamic *vratas* have been mentioned.

(A) **The Pāla-Pratihāra Period:**—The Pāla and the Pratihāra epigraphs do not show any great predilection for Smārta occasions. Besides a general reference to the *Rahasya-Vrata* (mysterious rites) and Piśācha-Chaturdaśī[3] (which are definitely outside the category of the Smārta-*vratas*), we find mention of the transits of the sun in Kumbha[4] and lunar eclipses.[5]

(a) *Piśācha-Chaturdaśī*:—The Pehoa Inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla contains a reference to it which, as the context indicates, was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight either in Chaitra or Phālguna.[6] It is not mentioned in the *Smṛtis* and the *Purāṇas*. But the *Vishṇu-dharmottara* contains a general injunction that the *yakshas* and devils may be propitiated on the fourteenth day of any month.[7] The name indicates that the day was consecrated to "female-goblin".

---

pattern of Aryan culture.' See, *Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute*, II, 478. Veda-vratas are mentioned in the *sūtras* (*Gautama*, VIII, 15). According to the *Aśvalāyana-smṛti* these *vratas* are (i) Mahānāmni, (ii) Mahāvrata, (iii) Upanishad, and (iv) Godāna. For Indramaha see infra, pp. 122–3.

[2]Some of the later *Smṛtis*, which clearly betray Āgamic influences in other spheres also, have included some Āgamic *vratas*. For example, *Vṛddha-hārīta* VI describes in detail the *Rath yātrā* ceremony of the Vaishṇavas. While describing the *Ekādaśī-vrata* it concludes:—

एकादश्युपवासश्च शंखचक्रादिधारणम् । तुलस्याः पूजनं विष्णोस्त्रितयं वैष्णवं स्मृतम् ॥

[3]See Kane, *HD*, V, i, p. 42.

[4]*IA*, XV, pp. 105–13, 1.12.

[5]*EI*, XIX, p. 1.10.

[6]*EI*, I, p. 186.

[7]यक्षाणाञ्च राक्षसानाञ्च चतुर्दश्यान्तु पूजनम् । कृत्वा क्षेममवाप्नोति क्रियासाफल्यमेव च ॥

—*Vishṇu-dharmottara*, as quoted by *Hemādri*, Vrata, p. 154.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(b) *Rahasya-Vrata*:—The Gwalior Ins. of Mihirabhoja records that the Pratihāra King Rāmabhadra worshipped Sūrya through mysterious vows and consequently obtained a son who was named as Mihira-(bhoja).[8] The fire-altar motif on coins, the name Mihira and the sun worship will naturally associate this *Rahasya-Vrata* with the fire-sun worshipping Persian Magi whose influence during this period is well attested by inscriptions, seals and coins.[9]

Thus the Gupta tradition of the Smārta *vratas* was not continued in the Pāla-Pratihāra period. The Rāshṭrakūṭa epigraphs, however, clearly evince the popularity of the Smārta *vratas*.[10]

(B) **From A.D. 950 to A.D. 1200:**—This period, however, is marked by the great popularity of Smārta and Āgamic-Smārta *vratas*. The Chedi-Kalachurī epigraphs do not show Smārta influence to any marked degree. They contain a reference to *Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*. Besides it, the only important occasion mentioned in them is the *Ratha Yātrā*[11] which is definitely of the Āgamic association.[12] The Chedi area at this time was under the sway of the Pāśupata and the Śaiva-siddhānta schools and therefore the Smārta influence was naturally meagre. Solar[13] and lunar[14] eclipses and the Mahā-vaiśākhī[15] are mentioned side by side with Śiva-rātri[16] and Pavitraka-

---

[8]सुतं रहस्यव्रतसुप्रसन्नात्सूर्यादवापन्मिहिराभिधानम् । —*EI*, XVIII, p. 101, v. 15.

[9]There are clear traces of fire-altar motif below the legend Ādi-varāha on obverse of the coins struck by Mihira-bhoja. See *Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins*, p. 241. Note that the epithet Ādi-varāha adopted by the king also has Magian association. Varāha was one of the eight Brāhmaṇas reported to have been brought by Sāmba from Maga-dvīpa. Varāha-Mihira, the celebrated astrologer was also a Maga Brāhmaṇa.

[10]Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 286.

[11]See Kane, *HD*, V, i, p. 388.

[12]These *yātrās* are described in the *Vaikhānasāgama*, LIV, and the *Vṛddhahārīta*, VI. Ratha-yātrā mentioned in a Chedi epigraph—the Tewar Ins. of Gayākarṇa, K.S. 902 (=A.D. 1151)—however, is the Pāśupata-Śiva-yātrā.

[13]*JAOS*, VII, pp. 32–34.

[14]*EI*, IX, pp. 103–37.

[15]*IA*, XVI, p. 254.

[16]The Abu Stone Ins. of Dhārāvarsha Paramāra, V.S. 1279.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

parva[17] in the Paramāra documents. Solar eclipse,[18] Devotthāpinī-ekādaśī[19] and Śiva-rātri[20] were important occasions for the issue of the Chāhamāna records. Likewise the Solaṅkī and the Guhila inscriptions refer to Smārta as well as Āgamic-Smārta *vratas*.[21] The Smārta tendency is definitely predominant in the Chandella epigraphs.[23] The Āgamic *vratas* are almost absent in them. The Smārta trend reaches its culmination in the Gahaḍavāla documents. They mention solar and lunar eclipses,[23] Akshaya-tṛtīyā,[24] Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṅti,[25] Kārtikī-pūrṇimā,[26] Vaiśākhī,[27] Māghī[28] and Manvādi. The Āgamic Ratha-saptamī[29] and Kṛshṇa-janmāshṭamī[30] also figure in them.

Thus, after a set-back in the Pāla-Pratihāra period the Smārta-*vratas* became popular again from the tenth cent. A.D. in Northern India. Side by side, the Āgamic-Smārta *vratas* were also prevalent. The Kalachurī-Chedi area shows a marked predilection for the Āgamic *vratas* whereas the Gahaḍavāla records evidence a preference for the Smārta *vratas*.

(C) **Vratas in Inscriptions:**—Following *vratas* were prevalent during this period:—

---

[17]*EI*, XIX, p. 72.

[18]*EI*, IX, p. 62.

[19]*EI*, XIII, p. 211.

[20]*Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp. 172–73.

[21]*Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 240.

[22]The Chandella Inscriptions mention (i) lunar eclipse (*EI*, XVI, p. 203), (ii) solar eclipse (*EI*, IV, p. 158), (iii) Saṁkrānti (*EI*, XVI, p. 13), (iv) Māghī Pūrṇimā (*IA*, XVI, p. 205) and (v) *Pushyārka-yoga* (*EI*, XX, p. 136).

[23]*EI*, IV, Grant A, p. 97 ff.

[24]*EI*, IV, p. 103; VII, p. 96.

[25]*EI*, VIII, p. 159; XVIII, pp. 135–43.

[26]*EI*, IV, p. 116; XVIII, pp. 135–43.

[27]*EI*, IV, G, I and J Grants.

[28]*IA*, XV, p. 6 ff.

[29]*EI*, IV, p. 97 ff.

[30]*EI*, IV, Grant I, p. 97

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(i) *Pūrṇimā*:—Māghī,[31] Kārtikī,[32] Vaiśākhī[33] and Mahāvaiśākhī.[34]
(ii) *Saṁkrānti*:—Mesha,[35] Kumbha,[36] Makara,[37] Kanyā, Dhanusha,[38] Uttarāyaṇa,[39] Vishṇupadī[40] and Dakshiṇāyana.[41]
(iii) *Eclipses*:—Solar and Lunar.
(iv) *Akshaya-tṛtīyā*[42].

---

[31]Chandella (*IA*, XVI, p. 208); Gahaḍavāla (*IA*, XV, p. 6 ff) and Paramāra (*EI*, XXIII, p. 167). It may be noted that the Gahaḍavāla grant was issued from Vārāṇasī. *Hemādri*, Vrata, p. 169 quoting from the *Bhavishyottara* states:—

कार्त्तिक्यां पुष्करं श्रेष्ठं माघ्यां वाराणसी स्मृता ।

[32]Gahaḍavāla (*EI*, IV, p. 116); Solaṅkī (*BI*, p. 194).

[33]Gahaḍavāla (G., I. and J., *EI*, XVIII, pp. 135–143).

[34]The Bhopal CP. of Udayavarmman Paramāra, v.s. 1256 (=A.D. 1200) (*EI*, XVI, p. 254 ff.) mentions Mahāvaiśākhī parva as follows:

पौर्णमास्यान्तिथौ विशाखानक्षत्रे परिघयोगे रविदिने महावैशाख्यां पर्व्वणि ।

I failed to trace this *vrata* in literature. The three full-moon days are regarded as specially sacred:—

वैशाखी कार्त्तिकी माघी तिथयोऽतीव पूजिताः ।

[35]*IA*, XVIII, p. 109.

[36]*IA*, XV, p. 105.

[37]*EI*, XVI, p. 13.

[38]*EI*, XXIII, p. 71.

[39]*EI*, II, pp. 1–7; VIII, p. 159.

[40]*EI*, II.

[41]*IA*, XVIII, p. 35.

[42]It is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chāhamānas, the Gahaḍavālas, the Solaṅkīs and others:

(a) *Gahaḍavāla*:
  (i) Chandrāvatī CP. of Chandradeva, v.s. 1156 (*EI*, XIV, p. 197 ff.).
  (ii) Kamauli CP. of Govindachandra, v.s. 1172 (*EI*, IV, p. 103).
  (iii) Lar CP. of Govindachandra, v.s. 1202 (*EI*, VII, p. 96 ff.).
  (iv) Kamauli CP. of Jayachandra, v.s. 1223.
(b) *Chāhamāna*:—The Sundha Hill Ins. of Chāchigadeva, v.s. 1305 = 1248 A.D. (*EI*, IX, p. 74).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(v) *Ratha-saptamī*.[43]
(vi) *Ekādaśī*.[44]

2. UTSAVAS (CELEBRATION OF FESTIVALS)

Following festivals are mentioned in inscriptions:
(a) Chaitra-parva,
(b) Pavitraka-parva,
(c) Damanaka-parva,
(d) Ratha-yātrā,
(e) Janmāshṭamī,
(f) Śiva-rātri,
(g) Dīpotsava and
(h) Festivals on the occasions of conquest and occupation of the enemy country.

(c) *Solaṅkīs*:—
(i) Udaipur (Gwaliar) Ins. of Chāhaḍa, v.s. 1222 (*IA*, XVIII, p. 343).
(ii) Udaipur (Gwaliar) Ins. of Ajayapāla, v.s. 1229 (*IA*, XVIII, p. 344).
(iii) The Shergadh-Kola (Somanātha Temple) Ins., v.s. 1084 = 1028 A.D. (*EI*, XIII, p. 40).

The earliest reference to this *vrata* occurs in 1028 A.D. It has been described in the *Matsya*, LXV, where it has been stated that it was consecrated to Vishṇu and Sarasvatī. These inscriptions however indicate that it was not particularly associated with any god. Hazra (p. 39) regards the *Matsya* chapter as very late.

[43]In the Gahaḍavāla records (*EI*, IV, p. 97, grant No. Q) it is mentioned as *Mahā-Saptamī*. It is dedicated to Sūrya and we find that the inscription records the visit of Jayachandra to the temple of Gaṅgāditya at Prayāga on this occasion. It may further be mentioned that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga had performed the *Mahādāna* ceremony at Ujjain on this day. The *vrata* is mentioned in the *Skanda-purāṇa* (*Kāśī-Khaṇḍa*) and *Bhavishya* as quoted in *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (p. 162) and in the *Vratarāja* (p. 116).

[44]*EI*, XVIII, p. 211. It has been mentioned as *devotthāpinī ekādaśī*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Most of the festivals are of the Āgamic origin but were later on accepted in the Smārta fold also.

(A) **Chaitra-Parva:**—Several land-grants to temples specify the purposes for which the donations were made and, therefore, they incidentally mention several festivals celebrated in temples. Thus, for example, the Kalāvan Copper Plate of Yaśovarmman records a grant for meeting the expenditure of worship, abhisheka, naivedya and the celebration of the Chaitra-pavitra festivals.[45] The phrase 'Chaitra-pavitra' occurs in several South Indian inscriptions.[46] Fleet and Hultzsch have translated it as "purificatory rites of (the month of) Chaitra.[47] But now the meaning has been rendered very clear by a reference to a pavitraka festival in the Ujjain Grant of Vākpatirāja. The phrase really means the festivals of Chaitra and Pavitra.

The Chaitra festival is differently performed in different schools of Śaivism, Vaishṇavism and the Smārtas. In Śaivāgama it is performed as a Damanaka festival. Later treatises like Hemādri[48] differentiate Damanaka festival from the Chaitra festival but a close study of this festival as given in Śaivāgamas will disclose its identity with the Vasantotsava.

(i) *Damanaka*:—This festival primarily belongs to Śaiva school although Smārta and Vaishṇava digests on festivals included it in their own lists of *vratas*. The Shergadh Ins. of Udayavarmman v.s. 11(. . .) mentions its celebration on the fourteenth of the bright fortnight in the month of Chaitra in a Śaiva temple known as Somanātha.[49] The *Svachchhanda Tantra* and *Iśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati* narrate the story and the ritual associated with the Damanaka festival.

At Śiva's behest, Bhairava burnt the god of love and was consequently rewarded with the title of Damanaka (from the root *dam* =control) by Śiva. But Bhairava thereby incurred the displeasure of Pārvatī whose plans were foiled because of the burning of Kāmadeva. She, therefore, cursed him to be born as a tree on

---

[45]पूजाभिषेक-नैवेद्य-चैत्र-पवित्रक-ग्रासच्छेदनेषु त्ररि(ऋ)धीणामुपयोगाय ।
—*EI*, XIX, p. 72.

[46]*EI*, V, p. 22; p. 259; VII, p. 128.

[47]See, *IA*, XXXVIII, p. 52.

[48]चैत्र-सुदि (शुद्ध) चतुर्दश्यां दमनक-पर्व्वणि स्नात्वा । —*EI*, XXIII, p. 135, *l*. 10.

[49]*ISG*, III, p. 293.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

earth. Śiva, however, again favoured him with a blessing that a person who will worship Śiva, Umā and Kāmadeva with the leaves of damanaka tree will have all his desires fulfilled.[50]

Damanaka is sculptured as a terrific figure placed by the side of Śāstā.[51] The invocation and mantra of Damanaka are given in the *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati.*

The Vaishṇava form of this festival is given in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* and other Vaishṇava digests.[52] The Smārta way of celebrating this festival is given in the *Hemādri* which quotes *Devi-purāṇa.*[53] It consists in the worship of Śiva, Umā, Agni, Gaṇapati, Kāmadeva, Brahmā and other gods with damanaka leaves from the first to the fourteenth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra.

(ii) *Other Features of Chaitra Festival*:—The *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, a drama written by the royal preceptor Madana (whose other name was Bālasarasvatī) is found inscribed on a slab at Dhārā.[54] The drama was enacted for the first time on the Chaitra festival in the shrine of Sarasvatī. It furnishes very interesting information on its celebration.

The festival was called Chaitra-parva, Madhūtsava, Vasantotsava or Chaitrotsava.[55] Singing of hindola,[56] drinking and dancing,[57] throwing of colour and scent[58] and wearing of spring attire[59] were some of the interesting features of this parva. The festival is described by Alberuni and Hemādri. According to the latter, a lady

---

[50]वसन्तकाले सवसन्तमन्यथं यजन्ति येऽद्य प्रभृतीह मां जनाः ।
त्वदङ्गभूतैर्दमनच्छदाभिर्भजन्तु कामानभिवाञ्छिताश्च ते ॥१६॥ —*ISG*, III, p. 294 f.

[51]वामे दमनकं न्यस्त्वा तद्वेपं विकृतं स्मृतम् ।
—*Suprabhedāgama* as quoted in *EHI*, II, ii, App. B, p. 239.

[52] *ISG*, III, p. 293.

[53]Hemādri, p. 455.

[54]*EI*, VIII, p. 98.

[55]*Op. cit.*, Vasantotsava, v, 8; *l.* 27; Chaitrotsava, v. 9; Madhūtsava, *l.* 15 and Chaitra-parvan, *l.* 3.

[56]समयसुहावयं हिन्दोलयं ।
.....
हिन्दोलाख्यः सुखयति दधन्मध्यमं तारदेशे
कम्पं विभ्रत्किमपि रुचिरं षड्जके पंचमे वा ॥२२॥ —v. 21.

[57]नृत्यन्त्याः मदविह्वलं लयविसम्वादेषु पौराङ्गनाः । —*l.* 15.

[58]*ll.* 23–24; v. 20.

[59]वसन्तवेषरमणीयो राजा ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

on that day should worship her husband and Kāmadeva, the god of love.[60]

(B) **Pavitraka-Parva:**—The Ujjain Copper Plate of Vākpatirāja v.s. 1051 describes the celebration of the Pavitraka festival of Śaiva cult on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada. A reference to this festival is made in the Kalāvan Copper Plate of Yaśovarmman[61] and several South Indian inscriptions.[62]

The festival is of Vedic origin although it has been accepted both in Śaiva and Vaishṇava schools. Pavitra was a Vedic sacrifice performed in the spring season and pavitra was a ring-like loop of *darbha* grass to be borne in finger while performing ceremonies.

This festival is described in the works of the Pāñcharātric as well as Śaivāgamic sects. The *Īśvara-saṁhita*,[63] *Pādma-tantra*,[64] *Vishṇu-tilaka* and *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati*[65] contain its elaborate description. The celebration of this festival is meant for rectifying and compensating the mistakes of commission and omission in the course of worship throughout the year.

The festival for Śiva was celebrated according to the *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati* on the eighth or the fourteenth of either dark or bright fortnight in one of the three months of Āshāḍha, Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada. The Ujjain Grant confirms it as it describes its celebration on the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada. The ceremony consists in presenting of the cotton or metallic *sūtra* to the god installed in the sanctum.[66]

---

[60]स्वपतिं पूजयन्नारी वस्त्रमाल्यविभूषणैः ।
कामोऽयमिति संचिन्त्य प्रहृष्टेनान्तरात्मना ॥
मन्मथाय महापूजाय etc., p. 23.

[61]भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां पवित्रकपर्व्वणि । —*l.* 14, *IA*, VI, p. 51.

[62]See *supra*, p. 118.

[63]*Īśvara-saṁhitā*, Ch. XIV.

[64]प्रतिसम्वत्सरं मासि श्रावणे तन्तुनिर्मितम् ।
पवित्रं भूषणं विष्णोरारोप्यं बहुमाल्यवत् ॥
आराध्यविधिवद् भाद्रपदे वाऽश्वयुजेऽपि वा ।
मन्त्रलोपादिना कर्मपतितं विहितम्पुनः ॥
तत्पवित्रस्य फलैर्भूयो रोहत्येव समाहितः ।
इति निर्वंचनात् तज्ज्ञैः पवित्रारोपणं सतम् ॥ —*Pādma, charyā*, XIV.

[65]*ISG*, III, pp. 202–203.

[66]It is interesting to note that the *Paushkara-saṁhitā* as quoted

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

The idea of pavitraka is of course Vedic in origin and might have been borrowed by the adherents of the Āgamic schools from this source. In the Vedic tradition the darbha grass is collected in the month of Śrāvaṇa and the Āgamic ceremony of the Pavitra festival is celebrated in Āshāḍha, Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada. The Vedic ceremony of pavitraka is a purificatory rite; so also the Āgamic ceremony of the Pavitra festival is intended for the purification of the image and the worshipper.[67]

The pavitraka as a ring-like loop is generally sculptured on the finger of Vāmana images.

(C) **Ratha-Yātrā:**—It is mentioned in the Chedi and the Chāhamāna records. We gather from the Chedi inscriptions that a special platform called *gāhuṇḍa-jagatī* was constructed for the celebration of this utsava.[68] The Sāḍāḍi and Nāḍol inscriptions contain a royal order that courtesans attached to temples should necessarily attend the celebration of the Yātrā festival and perform dances to the accompaniment of music.[69]

The procedure and rituals of the festival are described in the Āgamic works. The *Vṛddha Hārīta Smṛti*,[70] Hemādri and Alberuni give accounts of this festival. This festival of the Āgamic origin was recognised in the Smārta fold and was very popularly celebrated.

(D) **Paṭṭabandha:**—The festival was celebrated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings.[71] The Māndhātā Temple Halāyudha Stone Inscription mentions it in a figurative sense.[72] The *Kāravaṇa Māhātmya* describes

---

in the *Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati* says that according to the Vedic tradition the Pavitra sacrifice should be performed in the spring season and therefore this is also the appropriate time for celebrating the pavitrāropaṇa ceremony.

[67]Compare *Śātātapa* as quoted in the *Smṛti-chandrikā*, I, p. 108.

जपे होमे तथा दाने स्वाध्याये पितृतर्पणे । अशून्ये तु करं कुर्यात्सुवर्ण रजतैः कुशैः ॥

and the *Mahāśūra-tantra* as quoted in the *Īśāna-siva-guru-paddhati*:—

पवित्रेण विना पूजा तामसी परिकीर्त्तिता ।

[68]रथयात्रोत्सवार्च्चिभिगाहुण्डजगतीमिमाम्] —*IA*, LXIII, p. 210 ff.

[69]यत्र दिने यत्र देवे यात्रा भवति तत्रापरसमस्तदेवानां सत्कप्रमदाकुलैः सवैः साकल्पैः सुवस्त्रैः . . . वाद्यनृत्यगानादि विधिना यात्रा कर्त्तव्या । —*EI*, X, p. 29 ff.

[70]रथमारोप्य देवेशं छत्रचामरसंयुतम् ।
पठन् वै शकुनान्मंत्रान् यज्ञशालां प्रवेशयत् ॥२४३॥ —*Vṛddha-hārīta*, VII.

[71]*EI*, IX, p. 24; VII, p. 26.

[72]स्वात्मन्येव स्वयमपि कृतो धृष्टतापह(ट्ट)बन्धः ॥५॥ —*EI*, XXV, p. 117.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

the Paṭṭabandha ceremony of Lakulīśa on the full-moon day of the month of Āśvin.

(E) **Janmāshṭamī:**—Although the utsava of Janmāshṭamī is not specifically mentioned, the Kamauli Copper Plate Inscription of Jayachandra[73] is recorded to have been issued on the eighth day of dark bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada when the festival of Kṛshṇa's birth is celebrated.

(F) **Śiva-rātri:**—The Abu Stone Ins. of Dhārāvarsha Paramāra, v.s. 1279, mentions the vow of some persons to observe certain religious practices on Mahā-rātri (Śiva-rātri). The Kirāḍu Ins. of the time of Kumārapāla Solaṅkī[74] v.s. 1209=A.D. 1153 announces a royal order prohibiting the slaughter of animals on Śiva-rātri and similar other auspicious occasions.

(G) **Dīpotsava:**—It is mentioned in the Solaṅkī[75] and Chāhamāna[76] records towards the conclusion of the twelfth cent. A.D. Alberuni (1030 A.D.) mentions it as one of the popular festivals of the country.

(H) **Āgamic Festivals Condemned by Smārtas:**—An inscription of the fourteenth century A.D. makes a pointed reference to the Great Festival of the Śāktas in which the Kumārī form of Śakti is worshipped with wine and blood in the tāntric fashion.[77] There is literary evidence to show that such festivals were celebrated in Early Medieval Period although they were severely condemned in the Smārta tradition.[78]

(I) **Vedic Festival Substituted by Agamics:**—The Mandsor Ins. of Naravarmman which belongs to the fifth cent. A.D. and is therefore, a little earlier than the period under discussion contains an allusion to the Indra-Mahotsava, an ancient Vedic festival celebrated in honour of the Vedic god Indra. It runs as follows:

On the approach of the rainy season which delights the minds of men, the festival of Śakra having commenced as then allowed by Kṛshṇa, the earth garlanded by corn, shines with lustre as

---

[73] *IA*, LVI, p. 51.

[74] *BI*, pp. 172–73.

[75] Timana CP. of Bhīma II, Ś.E. 1264.

[76] Jalor Ins. of Samarasiṁhadeva.

[77] कन्या मान्यतमा महोत्सवविधावित्येकमंत्रोक्तितो ।
यामानाय्य यदर्च्चनाय गिरिजा विन्ध्यालयात्सावतात् ॥३॥ —*BI*, p. 96.

[78] पैशाचिकानां यक्षाणां शाक्तानां लिंगधारिणाम् ।
द्वादशी-विमुखानाञ्च सुलापादि विवर्जयेत् ॥१४२॥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

adorned by kāśa flowers, on the fifth day of the waning moon, in the month of Aśvin, etc.[79]

Phrases 'allowed by Kṛshṇa' and 'the shining of the earth with the commencement of Śakra's festival' evidently allude to the story narrated in the *Purāṇas* that Kṛshṇa substituted this festival by Govardhana, but eventually permitted it to continue in a modified form at the request of Indra. Arguments advanced by Kṛshṇa for the cessation of Indra festival and the celebration of Govardhana worship in its place bring out very clearly the differences between the old Vedic cult and the new Āgamic code of worship. "The sacrifices with the accompaniment of the recitation code of the mantras and the agricultural sacrifices are celebrated by the Brāhmaṇas and the cultivators, but we, the dwellers of the mountains and forests, perform the worship of cows and mountains."[80]

Although Indra-maha is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Northern India, an epigraph of Parāntaka Chola contains some details about the celebrating of this festival. The *Śilappadikāram* narrates the story of Indra's festival at the capital of the Cholas.[81]

---

[79]प्रावृक्का(ट्का)ले शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् ।
मघे(हे) प्रवृत्ते शक्रस्य कृष्णस्यानुमते तदा ॥३॥
निष्पन्नव्रीहियवसा काशपुष्पैरलङ्कृता ।
भाभिरभ्यधिकं भाति मेदिनी सस्यमालिनी ॥४॥ —*EI*, XII, p. 320.

D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 377) reads मघे प्रनृत्ते while Sten Konow (*EI*, XII, p. 320, n. 5) as मेघे प्रनृत्ते in v. 3 quoted above. But in the context M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri's reading महे प्रवृत्ते suits best. Indra-maha is mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram*. *Maha* means a festival (Monier Williams, sub voce *Maha*). H. D. Sankalia (*Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 242) remarks that the inscription places the festival in rainy season, while according to Hemachandra it was celebrated in Aśvin. But *l.* 5 of this inscription which reads दिने आश्वोजशुक्लस्य पञ्चम्यामथ सत्कृत suggests that the festival was held on the fifth day of the month of Aśvin.

[80]मन्त्रयज्ञपरा विप्राः सीरयज्ञाश्च कर्षकाः ।
गिरिगोयज्ञशीलाश्च वयमद्रिवनाश्रयाः ॥३७॥

Further, it is emphasised that

कर्षकाणां कृषिर्वृत्तिः पण्यं विपणिजीविनाम् ।
अस्माकं गौपरावृत्ति·····॥२६॥ —*Vishṇu-purāṇa*, Ch. V.

[81]Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, p. 518.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

(J) **Secular Festivals:**—Bānswāra[82] and Betmā[83] grants were issued by Bhojadeva Paramāra respectively on the "festival day of Koṅkaṇa conquest" (Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi) and on the "festival of the victorious occupation of Koṅkaṇa" (Koṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-parvaṇi). Festivals were, thus, celebrated on such secular occasions also. Alberuni mentions that the second day of Chaitra was a great festival in Kashmir in honour of the victory scored over the invading Turks.

3. CONCLUSION

1. Thus, a study of *vratas* indicates that after the age of the Guptas, the tradition of the Smārta *vratas* became sluggish in Northern India, although it was popularly current under the Rāshṭrakūṭas. From the tenth cent. A.D., however, it again asserted itself. It was quite forceful in the Chandella kingdom and reached a great popularity under the Gahaḍavālas. The Āgamic *vratas* were prevalent during the Pāla-Pratihāra period also though they were not very popular.

There were two belts in Northern India during the period under discussion. The Gahaḍavāla kingdom was the area of concentration and culmination of the Smārta *vrata* trends whereas the Ḍāhala maṇḍala of the Chedi-Kalachurī kings was the region where the trend of the Āgamic *vratas* held its sway.

Paramāra, Guhila, Solaṅkī and Chāhamāna kingdoms show both these influences with varying shades of differences. The Chandella region evinces a marked preference for the Smārta *vratas*.

This fact can be explained in the context of the religious history of the time. From the tenth century A.D. there had been brisk Smārta activities in the country. Four great Smārta writers flourished during this period. Lakshmīdhara (c. 1110), minister of Govindachandra Gahaḍavāla, is as prominent among the digest writers as Vijñāneśvara (c. A.D. 1120), the minister of Vikramāditya VI of the Chālukya dynasty amidst the commentators. Vallālasena of the Sena dynasty and Aparārka of the Śilāhāra royal family made notable contributions. This new movement in Northern India centred round the Gahaḍavāla kingdom.

---

[82] *EI*, XI, pp. 181–83.

[83] *EI*, XVIII, pp. 320–25.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Likewise the focal area for the Āgamic trends in Northern India was the Ḍāhala-maṇḍala of the Kalachurī-Chedi kings. After the Gupta empire, Śaivism received considerable royal patronage. Toramāṇa, Yaśodharman and Harsha—the successors of the Imperial Guptas—were all Śaiva. Again after the Pāla-Pratihāra period Śaivism gained ascendancy. Guhāvāsī in Mālavā initiated a very powerful and vigorous movement of Śaiva-siddhānta which spread over to the Punjab, Vārāṇasī, Central India, Rajputana, Deccan, Tamil region and Āndhra area. The whole Chedi kingdom was presented to an ascetic of this line and Kalachurī kings at least from Lakshmī-karṇa to the last ruler of the dynasty carried on the administration on behalf of the ascetic. Thus, this region had become a very powerful area of concentration for the Āgamic trends.

2. An analysis of the utsavas, on the other hand, indicates the various interactions of the major strands of the religious culture. The substitution of Śakra's festival with the worship of Govardhana and ultimate continuation of both the festivals, the adoption of the pavitraka ceremony as the Pavitra festival by the Āgamics, the different modes of celebrating the Chaitra festival in various schools of the Smārtas and the Āgamics, the condemnation of the Śākta's festival by the Smārtas indicate the different processes of conflict, reconciliation, adoption and amalgamation between the two major elements—the Vedic tradition and the Āgamic cults of the Brāhmaṇical religious culture.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CONCLUSION

The vital urge to the development of medieval Brāhmaṇical religious culture was chiefly derived from the Vedic tradition and Āgamic cults. On the basis of inscriptions, the contact and rapprochement between these two sources may be traced back to the few centuries preceding the Christan era; while literature bears testimony to the process of acculturation for still earlier times. The evidence of inscriptions from the *Homa-Yūpas*, erected from Prayāga to Jaipur and ranging from the second century A.D. to the sixth century, bear eloquent testimony to the continuity of the tendency of commingling of the Vedic fire-ritual and the Āgamic idol-worship. In the Gupta empire, the Āgamas, especially the *Vaishṇavāgamas*, asserted themselves and became eminently popular. On its decline, the restorative and reformative tendencies operated, initiating the second stage of the Smārta movement in which the popular Āgamic elements were further incorporated with some modification in the Vedic tradition.

The early medieval period inherited the predominant Vaishṇava influence which gradually languished. Although we cannot satisfactorily explain, it is curious to note that the immediate successors of the Gupta monarchs, Toramāṇa, Mihiragula, Yaśodharmman were all Śaivas in faith and inclination. In the Pratihāra kingdom, the Vaishṇava influence continued as is evidenced by the Pratihāra records which mention as many as ten Vaishṇava temples in contradistinction to one Śaiva shrine. But gradually, Śaiva influence increased. A vigorous Śaiva movement was inaugurated by Guhavāsin in Central India which spread to the Punjab, Ḍāhala region, Mālavā and Rajputana. It sent its offshoots to Deccan, Tamil region and Andhra area also.

From c. 900 A.D., a new stage in the Smārta movement started. The Gahaḍavālas and the Senas primarily and the Paramāras to a limited extent afforded the patronage. The Pratihāras and the Pālas issued only five copper-plates each, but their successors—Gahaḍavālas and Senas—ruling over much smaller areas sanctioned respectively more than sixty-five and thirteen *tāmra-śāsanas*, the land grants to the Brāhmaṇa donees.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

The issue of sixty-five *tāmra-śāsanas* would unhesitatingly indicate that there had been an efflorescence of Smārta-Paurāṇic religion in the Gahaḍavāla territory. This is also confirmed by the internal evidence of inscriptions which record a number of Smārta scholars "who cast in shade old works in the different branches of *dharma-śāstra* by composing fine treatises." Literature would tell us that the four greatest Smārta writers flourished in this period. Lakshmīdhara (c. 1110 A.D.), the minister of Govindachandra Gahaḍavāla, was as prominent among digest-writers as Vijñāneśvara (c. 1120 A.D.), the minister of Vikramāditya VI of the Chālukya dynasty, was amongst the commentators. Vallāla of the Sena dynasty and Aparārka of the Śilāhāra dynasty made notable contributions.

The importance of this movement for the cultural history lies primarily in the re-definition of values in accordance of which society, polity, aesthetics and other aspects of culture were remodelled and reformulated. The disintegration of ancient tradition gave birth to a new order—new mainly in the sense of systematisation and standardisation. The movement envisaged a system which co-ordinated the emergent multiplicities into an entity which though complex had a unity of vision.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY*

ORIGINAL SOURCES

(i) VEDIC SAṂHITĀS

Ṛgveda, Saṁhitā and Pada text with Sāyaṇa's commentary in four volumes edited by F. Max Müller, 2nd ed., 1890–2. Saṁhitā text, edited by Th. Aufrecht, 2nd ed., Bonn, 1877.

Saṁhitā and Pada text with Sāyaṇa's commentary, critically edited by Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, four volumes, 1933 onward.

Yajurveda, Saṁhitā text published by Vaidika Yantralaya, Ajmer. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* edited by A. Weber, Berlin, 1871–72; with the commentary of Mādhava, Calcutta, 1854–99. *Kāpishṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā* edited by Raghuvira, Lahore, 1932. *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, edited by Von Schroeder, Leipzig, 1900–11. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, edited by Von Schroeder, Leipzig, 1881–6. *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* with Mahīdhara's commentary, edited by A. Weber, London, 1852.

Sāmaveda, Edited with trans. by Th. Benfey, Leipzig, 1848. See also edited by Satyavrata Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.

Atharvaveda, Saṁhitā text published by Vaidika Yantralaya, Ajmer. With Sāyaṇa's commentary, edited by S. P. Pandit, Bombay, 1895–98. Trans. by W. D. Whitney, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., 1905. Trans. in part, by M. Bloomfield, SBE, Vol. XLII, Oxford, 1897.

(ii) BRĀHMAṆAS

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, with Sāyaṇa's commentary, published by Anandasram Press, edited by Th. Aufrecht. Bonn, 1879. Trans. by Keith, HOS, Vol. XXV, Cambridge, Mass., 1920.

Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa, edited by E. B. Cowell, Calcutta, 1861.

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, edited by Rajendralal Mitra and M. Vidyabhushan, Calcutta, 1872.

*'Original Texts' and 'Modern Works' have been respectively arranged chronologically and alphabetically.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, edited by A. Vedantavagisa, Calcutta, 1869–79.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, edited by A. Weber, London, 1885. Trans. by J. Eggeling, SBE, XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV, Oxford, 1882–1900.

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, edited by Rajendralal Mitra, Calcutta, 1855–70.

Talavakāra or *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, edited with trans. and notes by H. Oertel, JAOS, XVI, 79–260.

(iii) ĀRAṆYAKAS

Aitareya Āraṇyaka, edited with trans. by Keith, Oxford, 1909.

Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, edited by Keith, Oxford, 1909.

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, edited by H. N. Apte, Poona, 1898.

(iv) CHARAṆA-VYŪHA

Charaṇa-Vyūha, the *Śabdakalpadruma* of Rājā Radhakantadeva. Alongwith the *Yajuḥ-Prātiśākhya* of Kātyāyana in the Banaras Sanskrit Series, 1888. In Weber's *Indische Studien*.

(v) UPANISHADS

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad, edited by O. Böhtlingt, Leipzig, 1889.

Chhāndogya Upanishad, edited by O. Böhtlingt, Leipzig, 1889.

(vi) MINOR UPANISHADS

Akshamālikopanishad, edited by Pandit A. Mahādeva Sastri under the Śaiva Upanishads (pp. 1–9), Adyar Library, Adyar, 1950.

Atharvaśikhopanishad, do., pp. 10–19.

Atharvaśira-Upanishad, do., pp. 20–38.

Kālāgnirudropanishad, do., pp. 39–45.

Kaivalyopanishad, do., pp. 46–57.

Gaṇapatyupanishad, do., pp. 58–64.

Jābālyupanishad, do., pp. 65–69.

Dakshiṇamūrtyupanishad, do., pp. 70–78.

Pañchabrahmopanishad, do., pp. 79–86.

Bṛhajjābālopanishad, do., pp. 87–128.

Bhasmajābālopanishad, do., pp. 129–147.

Rudrahṛdayopanishad, do., pp. 148–155.

Rudrākshajābālopanishad, do., pp. 156–165.

Śarabhopanishad, do., pp. 166–174.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Śvetaśvataropanishad, do., pp. 175–234.
Tripuropanishad, edited by Pandit A. Mahādeva Sastri under the Śākta-Upanishads (pp. 1–10), Adyar Library, Adyar, 1950.
Tripurātāpinyupanishad, do., pp. 11–52.
Devyupanishad, do., pp. 53–60.
Bahvṛchopanishad, do., pp. 61–67.
Bhāvanopanishad, do., pp. 68–73.
Sarasvatīrahasyopanishad, do., pp. 74–88.
Sītopanishad, do., pp. 89–104.
Saubhāgyalakshmyupanishad, do., pp. 105–120.
Mahānārāyaṇopanishad, edited by G. A. Jacob, Bombay, 1883.

(vii) DHARMASŪTRAS

Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, edited by G. Bühler, Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1892, 1899. Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras.
Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, Mysore Oriental Series, edited by E. Hultzsch, Leipzig, 1884.
Gautama Dharmasūtra, edited by Stenzler, London, 1976. Trans. SBE II. Text with the commentary of Haradatta, Anandasram Press edition.
Vāsishṭha Dharmasūtra, edited by A. A. Führer, 2nd ed., Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series.
Vaishṇava Dharma-śāstra, edited by J. Jolly, London, 1887.
Vaikhānasa Smārta Sūtra, edited by Caland.

(viii) EPICS

Rāmāyaṇa, with three commentaries, Gujrati Printing Press, Bombay. Critically edited by Raghuvira, Lahore, 1938. English trans. into verses by R. T. H. Griffith, Banaras, 1915.
Mahābhārata, critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Edited by T. R. Krishnacharya and T. R. Vyasacharya, Bombay, 1905–10. English trans. by M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1895–1906.

(ix) SMṚTIS

Manu Smṛti, edited by J. R. Gharpure with Medhātithi's commentary, Bombay, 1920. With the commentary of Kullūka, Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1929. Edited with the commentaries of Medhātithi, Govindarāja and others by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandalik.
Yājñavalkya Smṛti, edited with Aparārka's commentary by H. N.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Apte, Anandasram Press, Poona. Edited by J. R. Gharpure with Vijnāneśvara's Mitaksharā, Bombay. *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1235–1334), 5, Clive Row, Calcutta, 1952.

Bṛhaspati Smṛti, reconstructed and edited by K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 108–111). edited by H. N. Apte, Anandasram Press, Poona, 1905. *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1610–17), 5, Clive Row, Calcutta, 1952.

Kātyāyana Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1335–1386), 5, Clive Row, Calcutta, 1952.

Nārada Smṛti.

Pārāśara Smṛti, edited by Vāmana Islampurkar, Bombay Sanskrit Series. *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. II (pp. 625–681), 5, Clive Row, Calcutta, 1952.

Bṛhatpārāśara Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. II (pp. 682–793), 5, Clive Row, Calcutta, 1952.

Laghu-Hārīta Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. II (pp. 974–993). *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 136–141), Anandasram Press, Poona, 1906.

Vṛddha Hārīta Smṛti, *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 226–256); *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. II (pp. 998–1233).

Āpastamba Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1378–1407): *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 35–45).

Śaṅkha Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 415–454); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 374–395).

Laghu Śaṅkha Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1408–1414); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 124–127).

Likhita Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1455–1463); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 182–86).

Śaṅkha-Likhita Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1464–1467); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 372–73).

Vasishṭha Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1498–1543).

Aušanasa Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1549–1609): *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 46–48).

Veda Vyāsa Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1631–1654); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 351–371).

Devala Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III, (pp. 1655–1663); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 85–89).

Prajāpati Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1664–1682); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 90–98).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Laghuāśvalāyana Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1683–1766); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 142–81).
Baudhāyana Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (pp. 1767–1878); *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 425–484).
Gautama Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. III (1879–1918).
Vṛddhagautama Smṛti, do. (pp. 1919–2080).
Gobhila Smṛti, *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 49–71).
Yama Smṛti, *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ*, Vol. IV (pp. 2083–91).
Laghu Yama Smṛti, do. (pp. 2091–2100).
Bṛhadyama Smṛti, do. (pp. 99–107).
Aruṇa Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. IV (pp. 2119–34).
Atri Smṛti, *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 28–35).
Pulastya Smṛti, *Smṛti Saṁdarbha*, Vol. IV (pp. 2134–36).
Budha Smṛti, do. (pp. 2137–38).
Śāṭātapa Smṛti, *Smṛtināṁ Samuchchayaḥ* (pp. 396–410).
Other *Smṛtis* are used from the *Smṛti Saṁdarbha* if not otherwise stated.

(x) PURĀṆAS

Agni Purāṇa, edited by Rajendralal Mitra, Calcutta, 1873–79, Anandasram Press ed., Poona, 1900.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, edited by V. L. Pansikar, Bombay, 1920, Published with Hindi trans. in the two Vols. by Gita Press, Gorakhpur.
Liṅga Purāṇa, edited by J. Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1885.
Śiva Purāṇa, Venkatesvar Press, Bombay.
Vāyu Purāṇa, edited by Rajendralal Mitra, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1880–88.
Vishṇu Purāṇa, with Hindi trans. Gita Press, Gorakhpur.

(xi) TANTRAS AND ĀGAMAS

(a) ŚAIVA

Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, (Parts I–IV) edited by M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1920–25.
Īśvara Saṁhitā, Shastra Muktāvali Series, 45, Sri Sudarsan Press, Conjeevaram, 1923.
Kulārṇava Tantra, edited by Taranatha Vidyaratna, Tantrik Texts, Vol. V, Luzac & Co., London, 1917.
Gaṇakārikā, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XV, Central Library, Baroda, 1920.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Tantraśuddhaprakaraṇa, edited by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1915.

Tantrasāra, of Abhivanagupta, edited with notes by M. M. Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XVII, Bombay, 1918.

Tantrāloka of Abhivanagupta, edited by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay, 1918.

Tripurārahasyam (*Māhātmyakhaṇḍa*, edited by Narayan Shastri, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1932.

Pāśupata-Sūtras, edited by R. Anantakrishna Shastri, University of Trivandrum, Trivandrum, 1940.

Mālinīvijayottaratantram, edited by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XXXVII, Bombay, 1922.

Liṅga-dhāraṇa-chandrikā, edited with trans. by M. R. Sakhare, Belgaon, 1942.

Svachchanda Tantra in six Vols., edited with Kshemarāja's commentary by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay, 1921–35.

Stava-Chintāmaṇi of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, edited by M. M. Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. X, Srinagar, 1918.

Paramārthasāra, with Yogarājāchārya's commetary, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Srinagar, 1916.

Vijñānabhairava, edited by Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. VIII, Bombay, 1918.

Spanda Kārikā, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. VI, Srinagar, 1913.

Śiva-Sūtra Vārtika of Bhāskara, edited by Jagadisha Chandra Chatterjee, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Srinagar, 1916.

Pratyabhijñā-Hṛdaya, edited by Jagadisha Chandra Chatterji, Srinagar, 1911.

Śiva-Sūtra Vimarśīṇī, edited by Jagadisha Chandra Chatterji, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Srinagar, 1911.

Māhāyāna Prakāśa of Rājānaka Shiti Kaṇṭha, edited with notes by Pandit Mukund Rama Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay, 1918.

Janma Maraṇa Vichāra of Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva, Pandit Mukund Rama Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay, 1918.

Tantravaṭa Dhānika, do.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Parā Trimśika, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies No. XVIII, Bombay, 1918.

Īśvarapratyabhijñā, edited with Abhinavagupta's commentary by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XXXIII, Bombay, 1921.

Mālinīvijaya Vārtika, edited with notes by Pandit Madhusudan Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XXXI, Srinagar, 1921.

Netra Tantram in two Vols., edited by Madhusudan Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay, 1926.

Nareśvara Parīkshā of Sadyojyotiḥ, edited by Pandit Madhusudan Shastri, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XLV, Srinagar, 1926.

Śiva Dṛshṭi of Sanananda Nātha, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. LIV, Srinagar, 1934.

Ratna-Trayam.

Śabara-Tantra.

Mṛgendra-Tantra, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 15, Bombay, 1913.

(b) VAISHṆAVA

Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā of the Pāñcharātra Āgama, edited by M. D. Ramanujacharya, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1916.

Āgama-Prāmāṇya, edited by M. M. Rama Misra, Benares, 1900.

Kāśyapa Jñānakāṇḍa (*Vaikhānasya Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*), edited by P. V. Ramakrishnaswami, M.A., Sri Venkatesvar Oriental Series, No. 12, Tirmalai—Tirupati Devasthanam Press, 1998.

Jayākhya Saṁhitā, edited by Eembar Krishnamacharya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. No. LIV, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1931.

Nārada-Pāñcharāttram (*Bhāradvājīya Saṁhitā*), edited by Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1865. Sri Venkatesvar Press, Bombay, 1905.

Parama Saṁhitā of the Pāñcharātra, edited by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. No. LXXXVI, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1940.

Paushkara-Saṁhitā, edited by A. Srinivasa Aiyangar and M. Tirumalacharian, Bangalore, 1934.

Śāṇḍilya Saṁhitā (in two parts), edited by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj, the Prince of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Texts No. 60. Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, 1935–6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Sātvata Tantram, edited by Ananta Shastri Phadake, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1934.

Sātvata Saṁhitā (*Pāñcharātrāgama*), edited by P. B. Anantachariar Sri Sudarsan Press, Conjeevaram, 1902.

Vishṇu Saṁhita, edited by M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXXV, Trivandrum, 1925.

Vaikhānasa Dharma Praśna, edited by M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1913.

Vaikhānasāgama, edited by K. Sambashiva Shastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1935.

TRAVELS AND FOREIGN ACCOUNTS

Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature, trans. with notes by J. W. Mcrindle, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd., Westminster, 1901.

Geography of Strabo, in three Vols. trans. into English by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer, George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1887–9.

The Travels of Fa-hsien or Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, trans. by H. A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923. Trans. by J. Legge, Oxford, 1886.

Si-yu-ki or the Buddhist Records of the Western World, trans. in two Vols. from Hiuen Tsiang's original by Samuel Beal, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, 1884.

MODERN WORKS

(i) POLITICAL HISTORY

Altekar, A. S., *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1934.

Banerji, R. D., *History of Orissa* (in 2 Vols.), Calcutta, 1930–31.

Bhavaraju Venkata Krishnarao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa*, Madras, 1942.

Bhandarkar, R. G., *Early History of the Deccan* (Collected Works of Sri R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. III, pp. 1–198), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927.

Chanda, R. P., *Bhañja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their Ancient Capital*, Khiching, Mayurbhanj, 1929.

Chatterji, Gaurishankar, *Harshavardhana* (Hindi), Hindustani

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Academy, Allahabad, 1938.
Cunningham, A., *Coins of Medieval India from the Seventh Century down to the Muhammadan Conquest*, London, 1894.
Ganguli, D. C., *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, Dacca, 1933.
Ganguli, D. C., *Eastern Chālukyas*, Benares, 1937.
Gopalan, R., *History of the Pallavas of Kāñchī*, Madras, 1928.
Lévi, Sylvain, *Lè Nepal* (in 3 Vols.) Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1905–8.
Mahtab, H., *The History of Orissa*, Lucknow, 1949.
Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *History of Bengal* (Vol. I), University of Dacca, Dacca, 1943.
Majumdar, R. C., *Champā*, The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot., Lahore, 1927.
Majumdar, R. C., *Suvarṇadvīpa* (in 2 Parts), Modern Publishing Syndicate, Calcutta, 1937–8.
Majumdar, R. C., *Kambuja Deśa*, University of Madras, Madras, 1944.
Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalker, A. D. (eds.), *The Vedic Age*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951.
Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalker, A. D. (eds.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951.
Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalker, A. D. (eds.), *The Classical Age*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954.
Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalker, A. D. (eds.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1955.
Mookerji, R. K., *Harsha*, Oxford, 1926.
Munshi, K. M., *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa* (Part III), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1944.
Munshi, K. M., *Somanatha*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1952.
Munshi, K. M., *The Imperial Gurjaras* (2nd edn.), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1955.
Ojha, G. H., *Rājapūtānā kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Ajmer, 1936 ff.
Pargiter, F. E., *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913.
Paul, P. L., *The Early History of Bengal* (in 2 Vols.), Calcutta, 1939–40.
Ray, H. C. *Dynastic History of Northern India* (in 2 Vols.), University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1931–36.
Sastri, K. A. N., *The Cōlas* (2 Vols.), Madras University, Madras, 1925–32.
Sastri, K. A. N., *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, London, 1929.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Sastri, K. A. N., *Studies in Chola History and Administration*, London, 1932.

Sastri, K. A. N., *History of South India*, Bombay, 1952.

Sircar, D. C., *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1939.

Tod, Lt. Col. James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, Oxford, 1920.

Tripathi, R. S., *History of Kanauj*, Benares, 1937.

Vaidya, C. V., *History of Medieval Hindu India* (in 3 Vols.), Poona, 1921–26.

Venkataramanayya, N., *The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī*, Madras, 1950.

Virjee, K. J., *Ancient History of Saurāshṭra*, Bombay, 1952.

(ii) LITERARY HISTORY

Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1947.

Dikshitar, V. R. R., *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (2nd ed.), Madras University, Madras, 1936.

Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra* (in 5 Vols.), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930–54.

Kane, P. V., *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Bombay, 1951.

Macdonell, A. A., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900.

Max Müller, F., *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, Allahabad, 1926.

Winternitz, M., *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, trans. into English by Mrs. S. Kelkar, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1927.

(iii) RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Aiyangar, S. K., *Early History of Vaishṇavism in South India*, London, 1920.

Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* (2nd ed.), Calcutta, 1942.

Ayyar, C. V. Narayana, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India*, Madras, 1936.

Ayyar, Subramanya, *History of Śrī Vaishṇavas*, Madras, 1923.

Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra, *Studies in the Tantras*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1936.

Barnett, L. D., *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, London, 1923.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Barth, A., *The Religions of India*, trans. into English by J. Wood, London, 1882.

Bloomfield, M., *The Religion of the Veda*, London, 1908.

Briggs, George, B., *Gorakhanātha and Kanphaṭā Yogīs*, Calcutta, 1938.

Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious Systems* (Collected Works of Sri R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1929.

Carpentar, J. P., *Theism in Medieval India*, Oxford.

Chandra, R. P., *Archaeology and Vaishṇava Tradition* (MASI), Calcutta, 1920.

Chandra, R. P., *Indo-Aryan Races*, Rajshahi, 1916.

Chatterjee, J. C., *Kashmir Śaivism*, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Srinagar, 1914.

Chaturvedi, Paraśuram, *Vaishṇava Dharma* (Hindi), Viveka Prakasan, Allahabad, 1953.

Dasgupta, S. B., *Śrī Radhā kā Krama Vikāsa*, Vārāṇasī, 1956.

Dasgupta, S. N., *History of Indian Philosophy* (in 4 Vols.), Cambridge, 1932–49.

De, S. K., *Early History of the Vaishṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942.

Dvivedi, Hajari Prased, *Nātha Sampradāya* (Hindi), Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1950.

Dvivedi, Hajari Prasad, *Madhyakālīna Dharma-Sādhanā* (Hindi), Sahitya Bhavan Ltd., Allahabad, 1952.

Eliot, Sir Charles, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (in 3 Vols.), new ed., London, 1953.

Farquhar, J. N., *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920.

Gaud, Ramdas, *Hindutva* (Hindi), Jñānamaṇḍala Prakasana, Benares, 1940.

Goswami, Bhagavat Kumar, *Bhakti Cult in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1922.

Havell, E. B., *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (2nd ed.), London, 1928.

Hazra, R. C., *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, The University of Dacca, 1940.

Hopkins, J. W., *The Religions of India*, Boston, 1895.

Karmarkar, A. P., *The Religions of India*, Lonavala, 1950.

Keith, A. B., *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upa-*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

nishads, Cambridge, *Harvard OS.*
Konow, Sten, *Religions of India*, Copenhagen, 1949.
Macnicol, Nichol, *Indian Theism*, London, 1915.
Mallik, Smt. Kalyani, *Siddha-Siddhānta-Paddhati*, Poona Oriental Book House, 1954.
Monier, Williams, M., *Religious Thought and Life in India* (4th ed.), London, 1891.
Monier, Williams, M., *Hinduism*, London, 1906.
Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta—an Historical and Philosophical Study*, Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1935.
Mallik, Srikalyani, *Nātha Sampradāyera Itihāsa Darśana O Sādhanā-Praṇālī* (Bengali), Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1950.
Parnjoti, V., *Śaiva Siddhānta*, London, 1954.
Payne, E. A., *The Śāktas*, Calcutta, 1933.
Pillai, Mallaswami, *Studies in Śaiva Siddhānta.*
Rao, T. A. G., *History of Śrī Vaishṇavas*, Madras, 1923.
Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect.* (2nd ed.), University of Calcutta, 1936.
Renou, Louis, *Religions of Ancient India*, University of London, 1953.
Schrader, Ph.D., F. Otto, *Introduction to the Pāñcharātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, Adyar Library, Adyar, 1916.
Shastri, Durga Shankar Kevalram, *Vaishṇava Dharmano Saṅkshipta Itihāsa* (Gujrati), Bombay, 1939.
Sivapadasundaram, S., *The Śaiva School of Hinduism*, London, 1934.
Subramniam, K. R., *Origin of Śaivism and its History in Tamil land*, Madras, 1941.
Subramania, Pillai, J. Vidvan, *Tree-worship and Ophiolatery* (Tamil), Annamalai University, Annamalai, 1945.
Upadhyay, Baladeva, *Bhāgavata Sampradāya* (Hindi), Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares, 1952.
Yaduvanshi, *Śaiva-mata* (Hindi), Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1955.

(iv) ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Acharya, P. K., *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, London, 1927.
Acharya, P. K., *Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture*, London, 1933–4.
Agrawala, V. S., *A Catalogue of the Brāhmaṇical Images of Mathura*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Art, U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow, 1951.
Anand, M. R., *The Hindu View of Art*, London, 1933.
Bhattacharya, Tarapada, *A Study on Vāstuvidyā or Canons of Indian Architecture*, Bankipore, Patna, 1948.
Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu) (2nd ed.), Bombay, 1949.
Burgess, J. and Cousens, H., *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, London, 1903.
Burgess, J., *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India* (2 Vols.), London, 1897.
Chandra, R. P., *Medieval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London, 1936.
Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Dance of Śiva* (2nd ed.), London, 1925.
Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J., *Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880.
Ganguli, M. M., *Orissa and her Remains : Ancient and Medieval*, Calcutta, 1912.
Havell, E. B., *Ideals of Hindu Art*, London, 1911.
Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *The Pallava Painting*, Pudukattar, 1920.
Rowland, Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India* (*Buddhist-Hindu-Jain*), Penguin Books Ltd., Harmendsworth, Middlesex, (3rd ed.), 1954.
Yazdani, G. and others, *Ajanta* (3 Vols.), Oxford, 1931–46.

(v) EPIGRAPHY

Bhattacharya, P. N., *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* (Bengali), Rangpur, 1931.
Dwivedi, Harihara Nivas, *Gwalior Rājya ke Abhilekha*, published under the auspices of Gwalior State Archaeological Department, Vikrama 2004, Murāra.
Hiralal, R. B., *Inscriptions of the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd ed.), Nagpur, 1932.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

NAME-INDEX*

Ādigadādhara, 86
Al-Beruni, 12, 13, 119
Altekar, A. S., 96, 114
Ambikā, 42
Animaṅkamalla, 50
Arjunavarmman, 9
Aśoka, 53
Attivarmman, 55
Avantivarmman, 94, 95

Balarāma, 100
Banerjea, J. N., 6
Banerji, R. D., 49, 84
Barua, 83
Bhandarkar, R. G., 49
Bhāskaravarmman, 2, 22, 51, 70
Bhatta, A., 13
Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, 41
Bhavadattavarmman, 77
Bhīmadeva, 90
Brahmā, 42, 58, 60, 61, 77, 84, 85
Bṛhaspati, 70
Buddharāja, 31

Chaitanya, 15
Chaṇḍikā, 65
Chandradeva Gahaḍavāla, 51, 75
Chandragupta II, 12, 55, 99
Chālukya Vijayāditya, 109
Commaraswamy, 46
Crooke, W., 6
Cunningham, A., 6, 109

Dāmodarvarmman, 55
Devapāla, 60, 93, 102
Devavarmman, 29
Dhaṅgadeva, 77
Dharasena, 31
Dharmapāla, 2, 23, 80, 87, 93, 101
Durlabha, 5

Fleet, 118

Gaṇapati, 42, 58, 65, 111
Gaṇḍarāditya, 52
Gaṅgā, 43
Gaṅgādhara, 25
Gāṅgeyadeva, 77, 79
Ganguli, N. N., 62
Gayā, 81–86
Gomibhaṭa, Daṇḍa Nāyaka, 49
Govindachandra, 74, 75

Halāyudha, 12, 14, 70, 71
Haridāsa, 15, 83
Harihara, 59
Harivyāsa, 15
Heesterman, 13
Hemādri, 119
Hiralal, 96
Hultzsch, 118
Huvishka, 50

Indra, 43, 63, 64
Īśāna, 43

Janārdana, 86–87
Jayabhaṭa, III, 39
Jayachandra, 73
Jayapāla, 55
Jayasiṁha, 93
Jayaswal, K. P., 5
Jayavarmman, 94

*The Publishers thank Km. Vijayashri Goyal, M.A. (Philosophy) for preparing this Name-Index.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Kalhaṇa, 4
Kālidāsa, 95
Kalyāṇī, 50
Kane, P. V., 4, 37, 51, 56, 80, 83, 114
Karkarāja, 32
Kauṇḍinya, 48
Keśavasena, 34, 54
Kīrttivarman, Mahārāṇaka, 59
Konow, S., 123
Kṛshṇa, 6, 7, 12, 59, 100
Kshīrasvāmī, 48
Kubera, 63, 64, 65
Kullūka, 49
Kumāragupta, 12, 77, 78
Kumārapāla, 90

Lakshmaṇadeva, 105
Lakshmaṇa nāyaka, 89
Lakshmaṇarāja, 92
Lakshmaṇa Sena, 35, 39, 59
Lakshmī, 59
Lakshmīdhara, 14, 41, 68
Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, 62
Lévi, S., 13

Madanapāla, 75
Mādhavavarmman, 55
Mahāśivagupta, 39
Mahendrapāla II, 46
Mahīpāla, 27, 51, 53, 55
Majumdar, R. C., 5, 49, 109
Malley, 83
Manu, 3, 28, 31
Mihirabhoja, 114
Mitra, 83

Nandikeśvara, 70
Nimbāditya, see Sūrya
Nimbārka, 15

Panigrahi, K. C., 97
Paramarddideva, 35, 37
Pārvatī, 59
Prabodha Śiva, 11
Prajāpati Purusha, 13
Purushottama Jagannātha, 10

Rāmachandra, 76
Rāmānuja, 15
Raṇabhañjadeva, 39
Rāvaṇa, 90
Rostovtzeff, 18

Saṁkshobha, 2
Samudragupta, 55
Samudrasena, 59
Śaṅkara, 15
Śaṅkarāchārya, 47
Śaśāṅka, 97
Sastri, 7, 17
Satluj, 43
Śakti 58, 61, 62
Siṁhāditya, Gārulaka, 38, 49, 50
Siṁhavarmman, 4
Sindhu, 43
Sircar, D. C., 26, 30, 53, 123
Śiva, 5, 6, 17, 43, 45, 46, 58–63, 69, 91, 104, 108, 118
Skanda, 111
Skandagupta, 5, 12
Someśvara, 68
Somavarmman, 62
Śrīchandra, 35
Śrīdhara, 39
Śrī Sarveśvara, 17
Stein, Aurel, 5
Sūrya, 5, 6, 58, 60, 61, 63, 87
Sykes, P., 8

Udayana, 12
Udayasena, 49
Udayavarmman, 118

Vaiśvadeva, 30
Vakpatirāja, 118, 120
Vallabha, 15
Vallabhabhaṭṭasvāmin, 44
Vallālasena, 39, 83
Vāmadeva, 17
Vapullaka, 44
Vardhamāna, 12
Varuṇa, 17, 42, 43, 63, 65, 111
Vāruṇī, 46
Vaṭeśvara, 87

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

Vidyavinoda, 2
Vigrahapāla, 2, 23, 87
Vijayachandra Gahaḍavāla, 33
Vijayarāja, 65
Vijayasena, 19, 54, 55
Vikramāditya, 68
Vilāsadevī, 55
Vimalaśiva, 27, 101
Vināyaka, 42
Vinīteśvara, 49
Vīravarmmadeva, 105
Vishṇu, 2, 6, 38, 42, 46, 58, 60, 61, 62, 69, 85
Vishṇugopavarmman, 4
Vishṇusvāmin, 15
Viśvanātha, 71, 72
Viśvavarmman, 41

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, 96
Yakshapāla, 8, 87
Yama, 63
Yamunā, 43
Yaśodharmman, 1
Yaśovarmmadeva, 26, 29, 118
Yudhishṭhira, 12, 56
Yuvarājadeva, 11, 89, 92

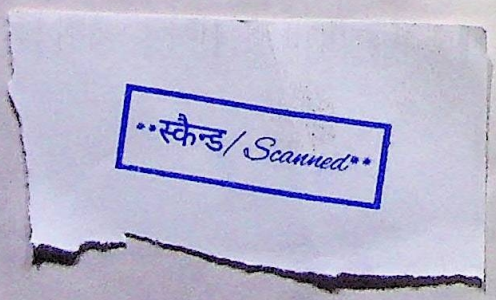
49919

Sri Pratap Singh
Library
SRINAGAR

SPS
294.59509541 P 7
49919

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

VISHWAMBHAR SHARAN PATHAK

Born 1926

B.A., 1948, first class first, B.H.U.

M.A., 1950, first class first, B.H.U.

Ph.D., 1956, B.H.U.; 1962, University of London

UNESCO Professor, El Colegio de Mexico, 1963–64

Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Gorakhpur, since 1965

Sectional President, Indian History Congress, 1974

President, Numismatic Society of India, 1981

President, Ancient India Section, All India Oriental Conference, 1984

President, Epigraphical Society of India, 1985

Visited U.S.S.R. in 1984 at the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Publications—1. *Ancient Historians of India*

2. *History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India From Inscriptions*

3. *Deśa ke Abhidhāna* (in press)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE

Digitized by eGangotri

KUSUMANJALI PRAKASHAN
P. L. Sharma Road, Begum Bridge, Meerut-250 001 (India)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Funding by IKS-MoE